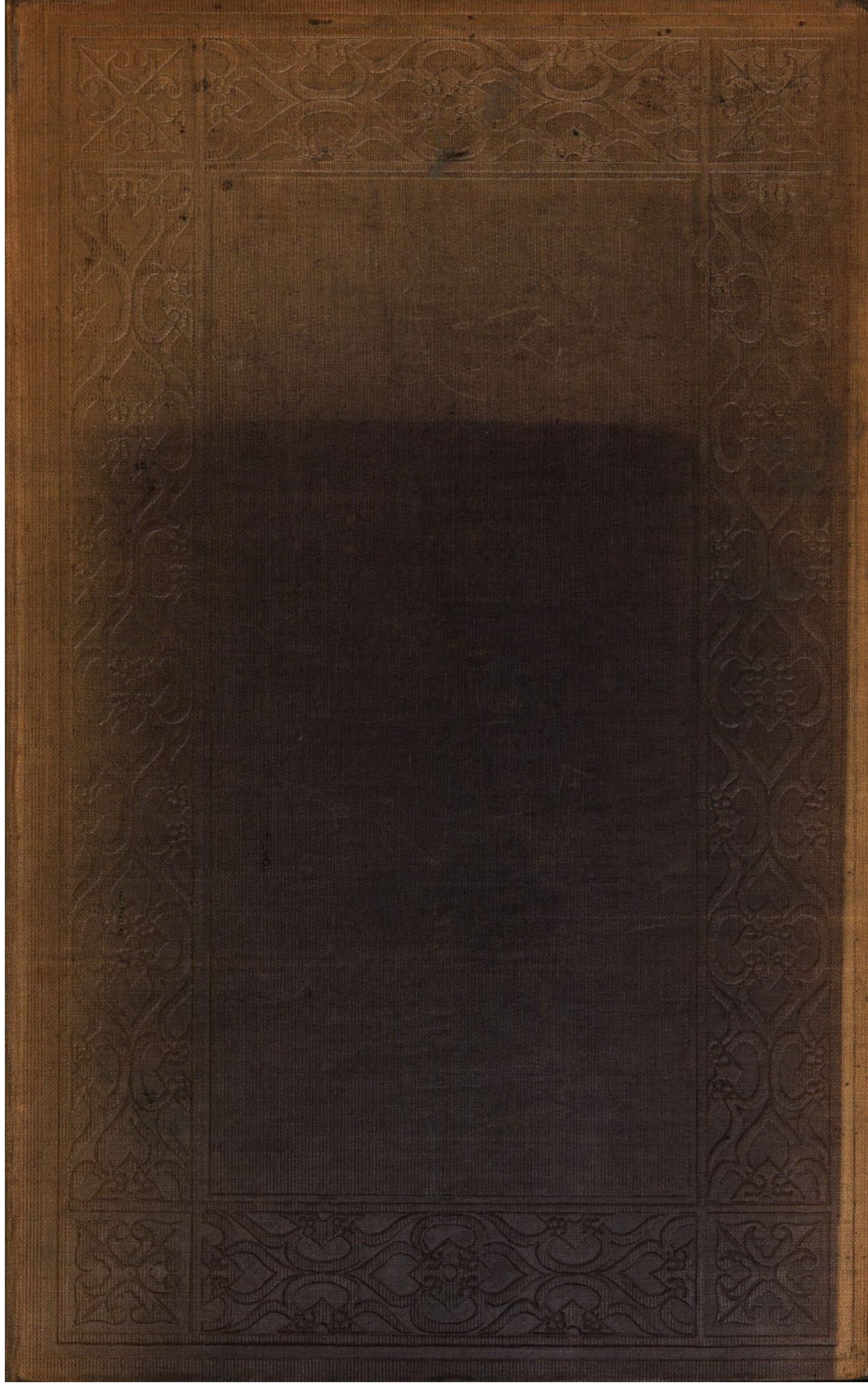




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CHRONOLOGY
OF
THE TIMES
OF
DANIEL, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH,

CONSIDERED,

WITH THE VIEW OF CORRECTING AN ERROR OF 53 YEARS
IN THE RECEIVED CHRONOLOGY BETWEEN THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY
NEBUCHADNEZZAR, AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST;

THEREBY LEADING TO

THE SOLUTION OF A PROBLEM

WHICH HAS PERPLEXED THE WORLD FOR EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, VIZ.

The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks;

ALSO TO THE RECOVERY OF

THE LOST ERA OF THE JUBILEE,

AND TO

THE CORRECTION OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT DATES IN SCRIPTURE
CHRONOLOGY.

BY

JAMES WHATMAN BOSANQUET, ESQ.

“Brethren, my heart’s desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.”

Romans, x. 1, 2.

PART I.

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New-street-Square.

TO

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THE ONLY GOD,

AND TO

ISRAEL

HIS CHOSEN PEOPLE UPON EARTH,

TO THE PROMOTION OF WHOSE GLORY AND HONOUR,

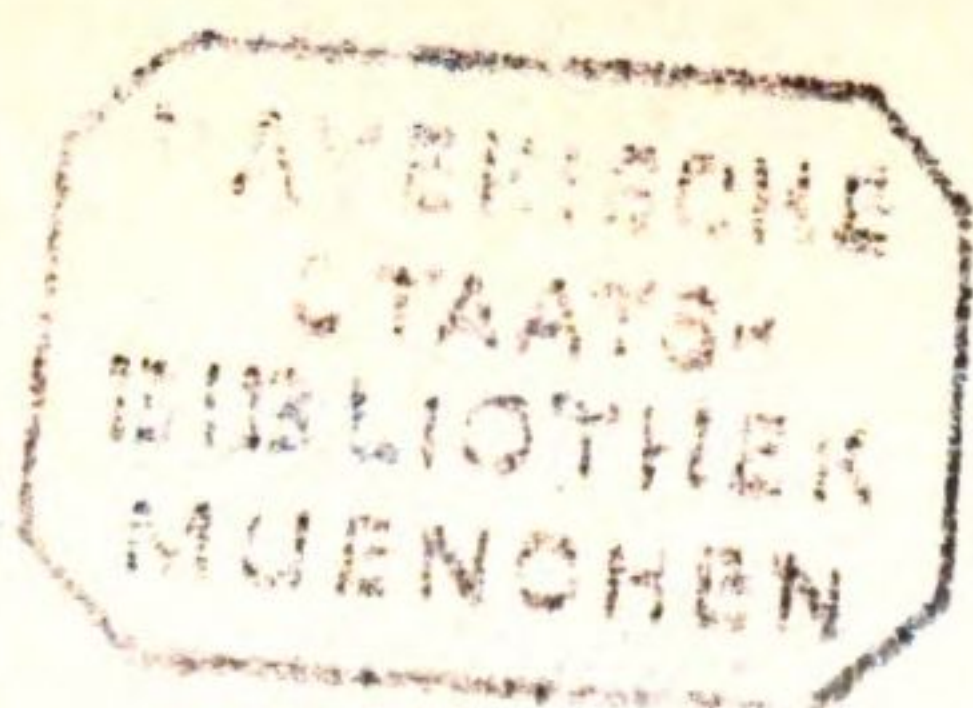
ANY RETURNS WHICH MAY PROCEED

FROM THIS WORK WILL BE

Dedicated.

“What reward shall I give unto the LORD for all the benefits He hath done unto me?

“I will pay my vows now in the presence of all His people.”



PREFACE.

THE Author apologises for bringing this work before the public incomplete. The first part only of his design is finished; and he is compelled to wait for leisure and opportunity to accomplish the remainder. He has been induced thus prematurely to hasten the publication of the first portion of his work from observing the rapid progress of historical discovery in all parts of the East. Already we have been made acquainted by the interpreters of hieroglyphics with much that has been hidden for ages amidst the monuments of ancient Egypt. Inscriptions in Media and Persia bearing upon the history of those countries, and written in a character unintelligible probably for more than two thousand years, have recently been laid open to us. And at this moment the process of deciphering is being applied to Assyrian inscriptions found amongst the ruins of the ancient Nineveh. New matter is thus being daily added to the information we possess concerning the histories of the Egyptians, Medians, Persians, and Assyrians; and any one new fact may give the clue to the discovery and the correction of an error in the received chro-

nology of those nations which, from an examination of the old materials, the Author has been enabled to point out. We may especially hope that the investigations now being made may throw new light upon that interesting period of Scripture history, the reign of Hezekiah. During this reign, we find mention in Scripture of So king of Egypt, Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, kings of Nineveh, and Merodach Balandan, king of Babylon. If we could fix the true date of the reign of any one of these monarchs, we should thereby be greatly assisted in adjusting the chronology of the rest; and, in fact, the means of doing so is supplied, as we shall see, by certain passages found in the Armenian copy of Eusebius recovered in the year 1832. The Author is anxious, therefore, to lay before the public the grounds of his opinion, and to put in his claim to a chronological discovery involving the most important consequences, before his labours shall have been entirely superseded by the discovery of fresh facts.

It will be interesting to the reader to be reminded that the whole subject of the following inquiry, — viz. both the prophecy of the seventy weeks, and chronology in general, — had passed in review before the mind of Sir Isaac Newton, and that he was strongly impressed with the general idea of the necessity of shortening the

chronology of ancient times. "All nations," he observes, "before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raise their antiquities, and this humour has been promoted by the contentions between nations about their originals." To shorten, therefore, was the leading object of his chronological work. By following out some of the observations of this wonderful man, contained in his treatise on the book of Daniel, and by firmly adhering to the date adopted by him as that of the eclipse of Thales, the Author has been greatly assisted in the detection of an error in the received Scripture chronology amounting to upwards of thirty years; and he ventures to surmise that, had Newton lived to complete his chronological work, and, more especially, had the Armenian Eusebius been accessible in his days, the rectification of this error, which naturally flows from some of his observations, would long since have been effected in a far more lucid manner than has here been accomplished.

With the advantage, however, of Newton's observations before him, and with a full conviction of their value, the Author was for many years unequal to the task which he had undertaken to perform. Perplexed and confounded amidst a mass of conflicting materials and opinions, and yet with a glimmering of the truth in the distance, he remained unable to disentangle the web of confusion which

had been woven round the subject by the ingenuity of writers during more than a thousand years. After many fruitless efforts, and after an unsuccessful publication in the year 1836, the conviction at length came home to him, which indeed should from the beginning have been present to his mind, that, as with Prophecy, so with the Interpretation of Prophecy, the gift cometh from above. Confessing, therefore, his utter helplessness, and inability to cope with so high a subject, he applied to that Source from which alone all strength and wisdom flow, and thenceforward seldom approached the subject without seeking that aid without which he felt that all his efforts would be in vain. It was not long before the mists which intercepted his view seemed gradually to disperse; the mass of confused materials which had been collected appeared to arrange themselves in order; and the truth, as he now sincerely and firmly believes, shone forth with full conviction on his mind. But why, it may be asked, should the Author thus obtrude feelings so merely personal upon the public? Not, he trusts, from any want of due reserve; much less from any vain conceit of having been more highly favoured than the humblest Christian has a claim to expect; but simply from a sense of duty,—lest he should charge himself with ingratitude where boundless gratitude is due, or lest he should seem to himself to be ashamed of the hope

and the trust that is in him : also, that he may testify to those who doubt the efficacy of that trust, that verily there is a God who listens to the supplications of those who earnestly and in faith seek him, and remind them that the words of the holy apostle James are not idle words,—
“ If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not ; and it shall be given him.” (James, i. 5.)

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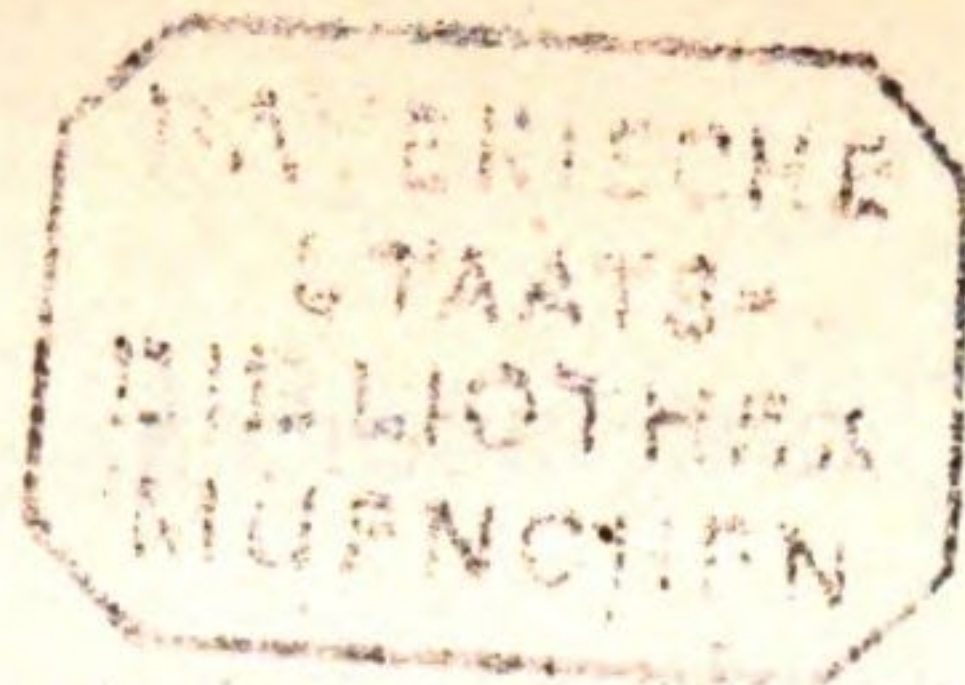
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ERRATA.

Page 19. line 25. for "B. C. 6828-1," read "B. C. 682-81."

44. line 20. for "B. C. 508," read "B. C. 507."

147. for "Nabonadius or Darius," &c., read "Nabonadius, viceroy of Darius," &c.



CHRONOLOGY

OF

THE TIMES OF

DANIEL, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE design of the following pages is, to prove that the whole series of dates in connexion with the epoch of the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, as reckoned in the received system of Scripture chronology, is more or less incorrect, to the extent of about thirty years. For instance, the year B. C. 588 has been adopted by all chronologists as the date of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the year B. C. 520 as the date of the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel. There are strong reasons for believing that both these dates are incorrect; that the capture of the city took place thirty-three years later, viz. in the year B. C. 555, and the rebuilding of the city and the temple thirty-five years later, viz. in the year B. C. 485.

The principal result of this correction of Scripture chronology, and the object indeed for which this work is undertaken, is to elicit a plain interpretation of that important prophecy, the Seventy Weeks of Daniel ; a prophecy which, from the time of its fulfilment, has perplexed commentators on the Bible, and still continues to perplex them, while they are compelled to reason in conformity with the above erroneous dates.

A few prefatory remarks are submitted, in explanation of the gradual process by which the author has been led, through Divine grace, to the discovery of so great an error in our reckoning—an error involving such important consequences—and yet so palpable, as will appear in the sequel, that it is surprising how it can have remained so long undetected, considering the great men, both scholars and mathematicians, who have given their attention to the subject.

In the year 1836 the author published a treatise, entitled “ Daniel’s Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, interpreted by a Layman,” in which the basis of interpretation was, “ that the prince mentioned by Ezra under the title Darius, in whose reign an edict was issued for rebuilding the city and temple of Jerusalem, was the Xerxes of the Greek historians.”

This proposition was supported chiefly by the internal evidence of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which books, it will be remembered, contain a minute relation of the events connected with the rebuilding of the temple and the wall of Jerusalem,

after the return of the Jews from their long captivity of seventy years at Babylon. In the course of their narrative, these sacred historians have occasion to name many of the principal rulers, priests, and Levites engaged in carrying those works into effect; and as we may assume that the ordinary age of man was then, as now, but "three-score years and ten," an efficient means of testing the received chronology of those books is afforded, by considering how far the received dates of the several events connected with the names of individuals are consistent with the probable length of their lives.

Every one will remember the interesting account, in the latter of these books, of the Jewish captive Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah*, who had become cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and who, while grieving over the desolation of his country, received permission from the king to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall of the city; how, in conjunction with the famous Ezra, the scribe†, the dedication of the wall was celebrated by him, with much pomp and ceremony; and how he returned, according to promise, to king Artaxerxes in the thirty-second year‡ of his reign, after he had completed the work. From thence we learn, that Nehemiah was living in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, who, we cannot doubt, was that Persian king surnamed Longimanus. He was certainly no prince earlier than

* Nehem. i. 1.

† Ib. xii. 31. 36.

‡ Ib. xiii. 6.

Longimanus, for he was contemporary with Eliashib the high priest*, who was the son of Joiakim, who was the son of Jeshua †, and Jeshua continued high priest, according to Josephus ‡, till the beginning of the reign of Xerxes. We know, also, that Ezra, the scribe, was living four years before this thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, for Josephus informs us that the wall of Jerusalem was not finished by Nehemiah till the twenty-eighth year § of that reign, and Ezra was present at the dedication.

Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, therefore, was living in the year B. C. 433. ||

Ezra the scribe was living in the year B. C. 437.

But Ezra, the scribe, and Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, had been present at Jerusalem long before the building of the wall of the city; for we are told that this same Nehemiah sealed the covenant in the presence of Ezra ¶, together with those priests and Levites who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel.

If we turn to the book of Nehemiah **, it is said, "Now those that sealed were, Nehemiah, the Tirshatha, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah, Seraiah, Azariah," &c. &c., and about twenty priests,

* Nehem. iii. 1.

† Ib. xii. 10.

‡ Joseph. Ant. l. xi. ch. v. 1.

§ Jos. Ant. l. xi. ch. v. 8.

|| Africanus informs us that the 20th year of Artax. Longim. fell in the fourth year of the eighty-third Olympiad = B. C. 445-4. His thirty-second year, therefore, fell in with the year B. C. 433-2.

¶ Nehem. viii. 9.

** Ib. x. 1.

the names of whom are the same, and also follow in the same order as those mentioned in chap. xii. v. 1—7., where it is said, “Now these are the priests and the Levites that went up with Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua: Seraiah,” &c. &c.

Moreover, from the passage just before quoted, we learn that Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, was also distinguished by the title Tirshatha. He is again called the Tirshatha in ch. viii. 9. just before the sealing of the covenant: and Nehemiah the Tirshatha, we find from ch. vii. 7. and 65., came up to Jerusalem from Babylon, together with the 42,360 captive Jews who returned thence*, headed by “Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah himself, Azariah (whom I take to be Ezra)†, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai (the uncle of Esther),” &c. &c.

But, if Ezra and Nehemiah were of age sufficient to be leaders of the people at the time of the return of the 42,360 captives from Babylon, it is clearly unreasonable to suppose that that return took place more than 100 years before the 32d year of Artaxerxes, that is to say, in the year B. C. 536, according to the received chronology.

Again, it is unreasonable to suppose that the temple of Jerusalem, which was rebuilt in the second year of the reign of a Persian king called Darius, could have been rebuilt so early as the

* See also 1st Esdras, v. 40.

† So Lightfoot on Ezra, ii. 2. observes, “Seraiah, or Azariah, as he is called Nehem. vii. 7., probably Ezra, who is called Seraiah after the name of his father.”

second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, B. C. 520, that is, 87 years before the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes. For the return of Nehemiah and Ezra with the 42,360 captives took place eleven years, as will be shown, before the rebuilding of the temple, which number of years must be added to the ages of Ezra and Nehemiah at the time of the rebuilding, and also to the years they lived after the thirty-second of Artaxerxes, which, in the case of Nehemiah, were many, making the age of Nehemiah, at his death, say $20+11+87+10=128$ years, which is not probable.

For this reason, therefore, and for many others set forth in the above-mentioned treatise, the conclusion was arrived at, that the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem must have taken place in the second year of the reign preceding that of Artaxerxes Longimanus; that is to say, in the reign of the king called Xerxes by the Greeks, B. C. 485*, fifty-two years before the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and forty-nine years, "or seven weeks," before the dedication of the wall.

We will now beg attention to some formidable objections which may be raised against this conclusion when viewed in connexion with the received date for the destruction of Jerusalem, *viz.* B. C. 588; and these objections, taken together with the preceding argument, will place before us, at one view,

* The date fixed in the treatise referred to was B. C. 484. The author was not then aware that B. C. 485 was the year of Jubilee.

the principal chronological difficulties contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

1st. By placing the date of the restoration of the city and temple of Jerusalem so late as the year B. c. 485, the lapse of time between the destruction of the city in B. c. 588 and the rebuilding, would appear to have been 103 years; whereas we learn from the prophet Zechariah* that the precise interval was seventy years, as predicted by Jeremiah, and confirmed by Daniel.†

2d. The prophet Haggai, when the foundations of the temple were being laid, exclaims, appealing to those around him, "who is there left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now?"‡ So that some were then present who could remember the old temple. This would not have been impossible even 103 years after the destruction. But spoken, as the words are, without allusion to any thing remarkable in the ages of the person appealed to, they are much

* Zechariah, i. 12.; vii. 5.

† Daniel, ix. 2. The only mode of avoiding this difficulty was, by supposing, with Scaliger and others, that the prophet Zechariah, in the two passages referred to, was alluding to the period of seventy years then passed, which counted from the fourth of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus. But, on consideration, this is not admissible. For the allusion to the fasts in the fifth and the seventh month, in the second passage, which fasts were instituted in memory of the burning of the temple and the murder of Gedaliah, clearly fixes the commencement of the seventy years to the time of the destruction of the temple, and their ending to the time of the rebuilding.

‡ Haggai, ii. 3.

more natural as spoken in the seventieth year after the destruction of the temple than as spoken in the 103d year after that event.

3d. We know from the book of Esther*, that Mordecai, the uncle of Esther, was carried captive to Babylon together with King Jechoniah, whose captivity we also know took place 11 years before the destruction of Jerusalem, commonly placed, therefore, in the year B. c. 599. And it was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah† that those who were carried away with Jechoniah should return again to Jerusalem at the expiration of seventy years.‡ Accordingly, we find that Mordecai was one of the leaders of the 42,360 captive Jews, who returned to Jerusalem in consequence of the decree of Cyrus§, not, however, as I conceive, till eleven years after the decree, and also eleven years before the rebuilding of the temple, that is, when the seventy years counted from Jechoniah's captivity were complete, in the year B. c. 496, according to our proposed chronology.

But, if Mordecai returned to Jerusalem as late as the year B. c. 496, then must he have been a leader of the Jews at the age of 103 years added to his age when carried away, say $103 + 5 = 108$, which is highly improbable; besides which, his return would thus have been in the 103d year, instead of the 70th year after his captivity, or 33 years later than the time predicted.

Thus, if we adopt the commonly received chronology, as far as regards the destruction of Jerusalem in the year B. c. 588, and the first year of Cyrus in

* Esther, ii. 5, 6.

† Jer. xxiv. 1—6.

‡ Jer. xxix. 2. 10, 11. &c.

§ Ezra, ii. 2. 64.

B. C. 536, we are met by formidable difficulties whichever arrangement of events is proposed. If the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple is placed in B. C. 485 (where I am satisfied it should be placed), the return of Mordecai falls thirty-three years later than the time foretold, and his age at the time of his return is made far beyond the ordinary length of human life. If we place the return of Mordecai and the captives with Ezra and Nehemiah, either in the first year of Cyrus, B. C. 536, or even eleven years later, then the ages of Ezra and Nehemiah are found of a still more unreasonable length.

Scaliger, on a review of the difficulties of these books, rushes into a most improbable solution of them. He supposes that the king in whose reign the temple was rebuilt was Darius Nothus, whose second year fell in B. C. 422, that is, 166 years after the destruction of the old temple, which is absolutely inconsistent with the appeal of Haggai the prophet, at the time of the rebuilding, to some who could remember the old temple.

Sir Isaac Newton alone appears to have strictly adhered to the evidence before him; and seeing no reason to suppose that more than one Ezra the scribe, and one Nehemiah the Tirshatha are spoken of in these books, and, not doubting the correctness of the current chronology of the time, has come to the necessary conclusion that Ezra and Nehemiah returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem in the year B. C. 536, and (by implication) therefore that both must have lived to the extraordinary ages of between 120 and 130 years.

Most other commentators avoid the difficulty of this conclusion, by explaining away the evidence, on the improbable assumption that there were two captive Jews bearing the name Mordecai, who both became eminent among the people about the end of the captivity, that two Ezras, each called "the scribe," also lived about the same time, and that two Nehemiahs, both bearing the title of Tirshatha, were rulers of the people after the return from Babylon.

To complete the evidence of confusion in this part of Scripture chronology, we may observe, that there is no settled and satisfactory position for the reign of the Ahasuerus mentioned in the book of Esther. By some he is supposed to have been Cyaxares, by others he is thought to be either Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, or Artaxerxes Longimanus, whereas the difficulty still presses on either supposition, that he was a prince of Persia, reigning at Susa*, and therefore living after the division of the kingdom of Babylon, and yet a prince who must have reigned before the expiration of the captivity; for since Mordecai was carried to Babylon with Jechoniah, the prince under whom he lived must have reigned before the expiration of the seventy or eighty years following that captivity.

After due consideration of all these chronological difficulties, and again testing their validity by a careful analysis of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the result of which will form the subject of the second part of this work, the plain and inevi-

* Esther, i. 2.

table conclusion is arrived at, that the contents of these books are wholly inconsistent with the received notions of the chronology of the times in question, and that one or other must be incorrect. Unquestionably, that which is founded on the uncertain data of heathen records must yield before the evidence of the sacred writings; and this conclusion once admitted, no further difficulty remains in the way of defining the exact extent of the error in the common reckoning.

For the reasons before stated, the true epoch of the rebuilding of the city and temple of Jerusalem by Zerubbabel must be B. C. 485; and since the prophet Zechariah informs us that the work of the rebuilding commenced just seventy years * after

* I am indebted to a recent publication, entitled "The Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, pp. 54, 55., for a suggestion, that "Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" of the first verse of the ninth chapter of Daniel, in whose *first* year Daniel "understood by books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish *seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem*," is not to be confounded with "Darius the Median" of the sixth chapter, who succeeded Belshazzar; but that he is the same as the Darius of the books of Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, in whose *second* year Zechariah (i. 12.) declares, that the *seventy years of indignation against Jerusalem* had just been completed. This is the revival of an ancient opinion. For both Eusebius and the Alexandrine chronicle, as the noble author observes (p. 53.), make a distinction between Darius the Median and Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes. It is the opinion also of the principal Jewish commentators on this portion of the Bible. (See David Gantz. Chron. Sac. pp. 52, 53.)

There are also some interesting observations in the same work, tending to prove that the reign of Cyrus must have been

the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar; this latter event must have taken place in the year B. c. 555, that is, exactly thirty-three years later than the common reckoning.

By this reduction of thirty-three years in the chronology, all difficulty ceases in the explanation of the Jewish history of that period. Mordecai, who was carried away captive with Jechoniah in the year B. c. 566, and also many of those who were present at the time of the burning of the old temple in B. c. 555, may thus have lived to return to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, in the year B. c. 496, and also to be contemporary with the prophet Haggai, in the year B. c. 485, when the foundations of the new temple were laid: and Ezra and Nehemiah may have accompanied Zerubbabel in the year B. c. 496, and yet both have outlived the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or the year B. c. 433.

Such is the nature of the first argument in proof of our assertion, that Jerusalem was destroyed by contemporary with the reign of Darius Hystaspis, which are well worthy of consideration. The whole work shows great research, and is full of valuable matter bearing on this subject. The noble author has arrived at the conclusion that the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar should be brought lower down by ninety-five years, viz. from B. c. 588 to B. c. 493. This conclusion, however, involves the necessity of admitting the identity of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. We cannot understand, also, how the general expectation of the appearance of the Messiah should have prevailed at the time of the birth of Christ, and for some time before, if only 422 years had then expired from the going forth of the commandment to build Jerusalem.

Nebuchadnezzar in the year B.C. 555 and rebuilt in the year B.C. 485, all which will be more fully stated in the second part.

Secondly, if it be true that the destruction and the rebuilding of Jerusalem took place in the years we have above determined, it is interesting to inquire whether any traces are yet to be found amongst the many fragments of chronology which have come down to us, of the Jews having ever entertained such a reckoning. Now Clemens Alexandrinus, who died about the year A. D. 220, and was deeply acquainted with all the learning of his day, both heathen and Jewish, as appears from his miscellanies, has preserved to us many of the different systems of chronology which had been put forth before his time, and those which he has mentioned were selected, no doubt, as the most worthy of consideration from the estimation of their several authors. Amongst these chronological fragments we find passages which contain exactly all that we could expect or wish for in support of our reckoning. In the first place, a few of the principal dates of the chronology of Demetrius are recorded by Clemens, and amongst them that of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. They are found to confirm, most remarkably, the dates above deduced from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the date of the capture of Jerusalem being fixed to the very year we have determined, viz. B. C. 555.

Demetrius, as Clemens relates, wrote a book concerning the *kings of Judæa*, and calculated that

from the carrying away of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, to the reign of the fourth Ptolemy (that is, I consider, to his reign as king of Judæa), was precisely 338 years and 3 months. Now the fourth Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator, began to reign in Judæa some time in the year B. C. 217, immediately after the great battle of Raphia, in Judæa, in which he conquered Antiochus the Great, and became master of Judæa and all Palestine, and counting the last year as inclusive, we reckon B. C. 216 + 338. 3 = B. C. 554. 3, that is September, B. C. 555.

Again he informs us, that from the carrying away of the ten tribes from Samaria to the same period, was 473 years and 9 months, and B. C. 216 + 473. 9 = B. C. 689. 9, or April B. C. 690, which places the taking of Samaria, which happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, one year only earlier than our reckoning.*

This is a very striking confirmation of our assertion, that thirty-three years should be deducted from the period between the capture of Jerusalem and the birth of Christ. But who is Demetrius, it may be asked, that we should attach any weight to his authority? By Clemens Alexandrinus he is mentioned in connexion with Philo and Eupolemus. And Eusebius, speaking of the writings of Clemens, observes, "moreover he did

* According to Demetrius the taking of Samaria would appear to be placed in the beginning of the sixth year of Hezekiah, instead of the end: *i. e.* in April, B. C. 690, instead of March, B. C. 689.

not omit the mention of Philo and Aristobulus, Josephus and Demetrius, and Eupolemus, *Jewish writers.*" * St. Jerome also writes concerning Clemens, that "he mentions also, *amongst the Jews*, a certain Aristobulus, and Demetrius, and Eupolemus, who wrote against the Gentiles," from which we collect that Demetrius was a Jew. Josephus seems to suppose that he was the celebrated Demetrius Phalereus, the institutor of the library at Alexandria, for he says, "Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatly missed the truth about our affairs." † Josephus is, however, here mistaken, if he refers to our author, since Demetrius Phalereus did not live to the reign of Philopator. All, however, seem to have held the author we have quoted in estimation, and who could be so capable of giving a true account of the chronology of Scripture then entertained by the Jews as one who was himself a Jew, living also at a time when we can scarcely believe that the true reckoning had yet been lost? Eupolemus is supposed to have confirmed the chronology of Demetrius, by placing some of his principal dates lower down than on our received chronology by *thirty-three years.* ‡

But this is not all that we collect in confirmation

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. vi. c. 13.

† Joseph. Con. Apion. l. i. c. 23.

‡ Mr. Cuninghame, speaking of Eupolemus, observes, "he unquestionably adopts both the chronology and the errors of Demetrius and his transcribers (and) we must, as already said, in order to rectify his errors, carry back his chronology thirty-three years.—*Synopsis of Chronology*, p. 122.

of our views from the chronological fragments preserved by Clemens; for, if Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the nineteenth year of his reign, in the year B. C. 555, and Nebuchadnezzar reigned twenty-four years after that event, according to the canon of Ptolemy, and Ilverodam, or Evilmerodach, two years, and Nericassolassar four years, and Nabonadius seventeen years, and Cyrus took Babylon in the seventeenth year of Nabonadius, all which Berosus relates, then was Babylon taken in the year B. C. $555 - 24 - 2 - 4 - 17 =$ B. C. 508; and Clemens Alexandrinus, in another passage, informs us that there were some writers extant in his days who affirmed that the capture of Babylon took place 186 years before the death of Alexander the Great, that is, in B. C. $322 + 186 =$ B. C. 508, thus confirming our date for the capture of Jerusalem from the date of the capture of Babylon. Again, Paulus Orosius, who wrote in the time of St. Augustine, affirms that Babylon was taken by Cyrus about the time of the expulsion of the kings from Rome, that is, about B. C. 508 or 509.

Here, then, are abundant traces of the existence of a chronological reckoning, not only Jewish, but heathen, in exact correspondence with that which we have derived from Scripture, and this is the second argument in support of our opinion.

Before we proceed to state the third argument upon which our proposition is founded, let us consider for a moment the effect of this deduction of thirty-three years from the great period computed from the creation of Adam to the birth of

Christ. We believe, with Archbishop Ussher, that this period should be exactly 4000 years, in accordance with the well-known tradition, that Messiah should rule the world at the end of the fourth millenary. But if we deduct thirty-three years from that period, as proposed, then would Christ have been born in the year A. M. 3967, not in A. M. 4000.

On examining Ussher's chronology, however, we find a striking omission of thirty years, in his reckoning, which, when restored, supplies all but three years of the deficiency thus created. The length of the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt is set down by Ussher as 400 years, in agreement with the predicted period in the 15th chapter of Genesis. But we are afterwards told distinctly, that "the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years."* By restoring, therefore, these thirty years, and also adding three years more than Ussher, in the period between the 4th year of Solomon, when he began to build the temple, and the time of the burning of the temple, which he calculates as 424 years, but which we have stated as 427 in agreement with Scaliger, Jackson, and most other chronologists, the great period of 4000 years will remain undisturbed, though the whole of the dates, after that of the dismissal of Ishmael, will be materially altered. The dates thus altered will furnish us with another forcible argument in support of our

* Exodus, xii. 40., and Gal. iii. 17.

proposition; for they will be found to correspond correctly with a scale of division of the period of possession of the promised land into sabbatical weeks and jubilees.

USSHER'S CHRONOLOGY.			PROPOSED CHRONOLOGY.		
A. M.		B. C.	B. C.		A. M.
1.	Adam created	- 4004.	4003.	Adam created	- 1.
1656.	Deluge	- 2348.	2347.	Deluge	- 1656.
2008.	Birth of Abraham	- 1996.	1995.	Birth of Abraham	- 2008.
2083.	Call of Abraham at 75	1921.	1920.	Call of Abraham	- 2083.
2108.	Birth of Isaac	- 1896.	1895.	Birth of Isaac	- 2108.
	Ishmael dismissed on the weaning			Ishmael dismissed on weaning	
2113.	of Isaac at 5 years old	1891.	1891.	Isaac at 4 years old	- 2112.
	Exode from Egypt				
2513.	After 400 years	- 1491.	1461.	Exode after 430 years	2542.
	From the Exode to the 4th year of the reign of Solomon, when the temple was begun			From the Exode to the 4th year of Solomon	
2992.	480 years current	- 1012.	982.	480 years current. *	- 3021.
	From the building of the temple to the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, 424 years	- 588.		From the building to the destruction of the temple, 427 years	- 3448.
3416.	Desolation of the temple, 68 years			Temple left desolate for 70 years	
3484.	ending in the 2nd of Darius Hystaspis	- 520.	485.	till the 2nd year of the reign of Xerxes	- 3518.
	From the rebuilding of the temple to the birth of Christ	516		From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the Prince. 7 weeks, and 62 weeks,	
4000.	years	- 4	3.	or 483 years current	- 4000.
4004.	Christian era	- 1.	1.	Christian Era	- 4003.

The first material variation from Ussher in the above table, and that to which I would direct atten-

* 1 Kings, vi. i.

tion, is the date of the Exode, in the year B. c. 1461, which date necessarily flows from the dates B. c. 485 for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and B. c. 555 for the destruction. But from the date of the Exode we count forty years for the wandering in the wilderness, and five years more, according to Josephus*, to the settlement of the children of Israel in their respective portions of the promised land, bringing us down to the year B. c. 1416 as the date of the division of the land, which leads us to our third argument.

Thirdly. A most interesting and conclusive proof of the correctness of our proposed chronology is afforded, by dividing into a scale of sabbatical weeks and jubilees the period between the settlement of the children of Israel in the promised land and the year of the birth of Christ; and by observing the remarkable agreement of some of the principal dates marked in Scripture as sabbatical or jubilees, with the years set down as such in the scale. For instance, the year B. c. 555-4, in which Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, is described in Scripture as sabbatical, and so also is the year of the birth of Christ, B. c. 3-2. The year B. c. 6828-1, when Sennacherib came up against Jerusalem, was sabbatical, and followed by a jubilee in B. c. 681-80. The year B. c. 485-4 also, when the city and temple of Jerusalem were rebuilt, was, according to the authority of Rabbi Eliezer, one of the oldest Jewish authors now extant, a year of jubilee. All which years so dis-

* Jos. Ant. v. ch. i.

tinguished, are found in perfect harmony with a scale of sabbatical years and jubilees counted from the year B.C. 1416, and ending with the birth of Christ on the sabbath of the sixty-second week after a jubilee.*

We know that Jewish chronology, from the time of Joshua downwards, involves a division into periods of seven years, and fifty years, (or more correctly, forty-nine years, for the fiftieth formed the first of the next series of sevens,) for such was the express command of God, when the Israelites should take possession of the promised land.† And though we are informed from Scripture that the observance of this command was soon neglected by this rebellious people, and that they suffered captivity in consequence at Babylon, for seventy years, that the land might enjoy her sabbaths‡; yet, doubtless, the reckoning was preserved, and the observance occasionally attempted to be enforced, in periods of reform, or public calamity, at least by the holy prophets, and that small remnant of true Israelites, which, even in their worst periods, were still to be found among the people.

No chronological arrangement therefore of Jewish history can be allowed to stand, which will not bear this searching test of subdivision into periods of seven and forty-nine years. It would be as reasonable to offer a system of Grecian chronology not in unison with the dates of that famous era

* Dan. ix. 24.

† Levit. xxv.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

founded upon the quadrennial celebration of the Olympic games, as to set up a system of Scripture chronology, at variance with the dates of the septennial division and jubilees of the Jews, if they are capable of being determined. Such, however, is the present state of our received Scripture chronology. There is no harmony whatever between it and the series of sabbaths and jubilees, which may be correctly ascertained from scattered records, in Scripture and Jewish writers, concerning them.

The learned Prideaux, in the preface to his *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, writes thus: "I have in the series of this history taken no notice either of the jubilee, or the sabbatical year of the Jews, both because of the uselessness, and also of the uncertainty of them. They are useless, because they help not to the explaining any thing, either in the holy Scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the Babylonish captivity. And it is manifest from Scripture that the sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many years before it. As to the jubilees, there is no mention made of them any where through the whole Scriptures, saving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their sabbatical years, saving only in the same law, and the place in *Chronicles* above mentioned (2 Chron. xxxvi.

21.) ——— They act most out of the way in this matter who would confine Daniel's prophecy of the 'seventy weeks' to so many shemittahs, as if these seventy weeks fell in exactly with seventy shemittahs; that is, that the first week began with the first year of a shemittah, or sabbatical year, and ended with a sabbatical year, which was the last of a shemittah, and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number; and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out sabbatical years to suit their hypotheses, and fix them to times to which they did never belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the seventy weeks to express seventy times seven years, that is, 490 years in the whole, without any relation had either to shemittahs or sabbatical years."

Hence it is clear that Prideaux could find nothing in confirmation of the received chronology from a consideration of the sabbatical years and jubilees. Scaliger and Petavius are equally at a loss to turn them to any useful account. And this, I submit, considering that the septennial division of time, together with the jubilee, is at the foundation of Scripture chronology, is as conclusive a proof of the incorrectness of the reckoning they uphold, as the perfect harmony between the series of sabbaths and jubilees and our proposed chronology, is a proof of the correctness of the latter.

The uncertainty regarding these years observed upon by Prideaux, arises merely from his rejection of the distinct evidence concerning them contained in

the prophecy of the 'seventy weeks,' which prophecy not only speaks of a jubilee and many sabbatical weeks, but also fixes their dates with the most certain precision. Far preferable is the opinion of the sagacious Sir Isaac Newton, who never denies or rejects the evidence before him, however much it may involve him in difficulties, and who, when treating on this prophecy, and finding the jubilee therein predicted incompatible with the chronology he adopts, refers the fulfilment of it to some yet future period, and adds, "This part of the prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I shall not attempt a particular interpretation of it, but content myself with observing, that as the 'seventy' and the 'sixty-two weeks' were Jewish weeks, ending with sabbatical years, so the 'seven weeks' are the compass of a jubilee, and begin and end with actions proper for a jubilee, and of the highest nature for which a jubilee can be kept."* The words of the prophet are, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and thy holy city;" and again, "from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks, and three-score and two weeks."

Why does the prophet here compute in weeks of years? There is no instance of the same mode of computation throughout the Bible, except at the institution of the sabbatical year. The answer is simple, if our chronology is correct;—Because

* Sir I. Newton on Daniel, p. 133.

seventy sabbatical weeks, according to that institution, were just at the point of completion when the words were spoken. The desolation of the land began with the destruction of Jerusalem, in B. C. 555, and ended in the second year of Darius, successor of Ahasuerus*, in B. C. 485, and the land had completed her seventieth sabbath of desolation in that same year.† But Daniel prays, in the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus‡, that the desolation may cease; and the answer is, “seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city§,” that is, the holy city will have completed her seventy sabbatical weeks on the completion of the last penitential sabbath in the following year. In the year B. C. 485 the city had exactly completed her seventieth sabbatical week, as a “holy city,” that is to say, it was exactly 490 years from the dedication of the temple by Solomon, when the city was hallowed by the cloud descending, and the glory of the Lord filling the house of God||, to the year B. C. 485, when the command went forth to rebuild the temple. The prophet then, in speaking of weeks, refers to the sabbatical weeks just about to be completed at the time of the prophecy. But again, Why is the period “unto Messiah” divided into *seven weeks*, and threescore and two weeks, and not called at once sixty-nine weeks, as would

* Zechariah, i. 1 & 12, and Ezra, iv. 6. 24.

† 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

§ Ibid. 24.

‡ Daniel, ix. 2.

|| 2 Chron. v. 13, 14.

be more natural, if a period of 483 years was signified? and also, Why is only one period of "seven weeks" thus cut off from the rest? Because there is reason to believe, that one period of jubilee, and one only, was kept under the second temple, and after that the sabbatical weeks only were observed. That the year when the temple was rebuilt (2nd year of Darius) was a year of jubilee we learn from Rabbi Eliezer; and Maimonides informs us that Ezra restored the reckoning of the jubilee after the temple was rebuilt, and that the fiftieth year was consecrated. His words are these: "After the temple was laid waste, this reckoning of the jubilee ceased, because it was abolished. From this time the land remained desolate seventy years, and then the second temple was rebuilt. In the seventh year after the building, Ezra came up, and brought back or restored the reckoning, and from that year they began to compute another era, making the thirteenth year of the second temple sabbatical. They computed seven sabbaths, and *consecrated the fiftieth year.*"* And though Maimonides is of opinion, that no jubilee was observed after the captivity, yet we learn from the book of Nehemiah, that Nehemiah, in the presence of Ezra, together with the priests who came up with Zerubbabel, sealed the covenant, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, amongst other things, "to leave the seventh year, *and the exaction of*

* Maimonides de Schemitha et Jubilæo, from Vorst's Latin translation of the passage.

every debt."* Now this engagement to forego the exaction of debts has reference to the year of jubilee, for the debtor was to go free in that year†, and since Nehemiah and Ezra were living in the fiftieth year after the commencement of the building of the temple, we cannot doubt that their oath was faithfully performed, and that, as rulers of the people, they enforced the performance of the jubilee. Moreover, the fiftieth year after the jubilee of autumn, B. C. 485, was autumn, B. C. 436, which fell in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and Josephus informs us, that the wall of Jerusalem was finally completed by Nehemiah in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Artaxerxes. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume, that the dedication of the wall, celebrated in the time of Nehemiah, took place in the twenty-ninth year of the reign, and that the two companies of priests who then marched round upon the wall with *trumpets*, may at the same time have proclaimed the jubilee, which we know was to be ushered in by the sound of the trumpet.‡ In the same manner we find that the dedication of the temple by Solomon, in the eleventh year of his reign, in the year B. C. 975-4, which was a jubilee, was celebrated with the sounding of trumpets§, though the jubilee is no further mentioned.

From all that has been urged, we are justified in concluding, that Daniel's period of "seven weeks,

* Nehem. x. 31.

† Levit. xxv. 14.

‡ Levit. xxv. 8, 9.

§ 2 Chron. v. 12, 13.

and threescore and two weeks," was intended to signify a period of one jubilee, and sixty-two sabbatical weeks, defined at the commencement by the going forth of the command to build Jerusalem, and at the end by the coming of Messiah. Assuming, then, that the command to build Jerusalem went forth in the year B. C. 485, and that the birth of Christ was in the year B. C. 3, the period of the jubilee, viz. B. C. 436, is accurately determined between them. From one jubilee, however, we may compute the whole series. And the whole series, thus ascertained, will be shown to harmonise with, and to illustrate many of our principal dates and other important periods in Scripture, thereby testing and confirming the accuracy of the chronology we propose.

Thus, then, if these points are substantiated, strong reasons will have been shown for the deduction of thirty-three years from the current Scripture chronology, between the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the birth of Christ, drawn from three independent sources of inquiry. First, from the internal evidence of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Secondly, from the record of the actual existence amongst learned Jews, of the shorter reckoning we propose, at a time when the true reckoning could not have been lost. Thirdly, from the satisfactory arrangement of the sabbatical years and jubilees, the foundation of all Hebrew chronology, which is the result of the proposed reckoning.

We have next to consider, how far it will be

necessary to rectify the computations of heathen chronology, in order to produce conformity between Scripture and profane history, so closely interwoven one with the other about the times of which we are treating, after a deduction of so many as thirty-three years from the current Scripture reckoning. And here, I doubt not, that the result of our inquiry will be considered even more convincing, if possible, than what has gone before, that the proposed deduction is both necessary and correct.

All who have given attention to the subject of chronology, are aware that the current system is framed by grafting the chronology of Scripture, computed from Adam to the reign of Cyrus, upon heathen chronology computed from the reign of Cyrus downwards. The point of junction is in the first year of that Cyrus who is mentioned in the opening of the book of Ezra, who issued a proclamation permitting the Jews to return from Babylon to their own land, and the supposed first year of the reign of Cyrus, father of Cambyses, after the capture of Babylon, which is usually placed in B. C. 536.

In the course of our inquiry, we shall find no reason to dispute the correctness of heathen chronology, as regards the first year of the reign of Cyrus in Persia, which, by the consent of all ancient historians, is placed in the first year of the 55th Olympiad, B. C. 560–559, nor shall we interfere in any way with the dates of the subsequent reigns of Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes.

We shall, however, when comparing the histories of Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, and Berosus, concerning the events connected with the reign of Cyrus and the capture of Babylon, be led to the conclusion, that the Cyrus who began to reign in Persia in B. c. 560, and whom we shall distinguish as the father of Cambyses, was not the Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who took the city of Babylon, and who proclaimed liberty to the Jews; the one being described by Ctesias, from the royal records of Persia, as the son-in-law of Astyages king of Media, the other by Herodotus and Xenophon, as the son of Cambyses and Mandane, and grandson of Astyages, and who was therefore one generation later than the first. By adopting this conclusion, it may also be observed, that the unsatisfactory alternative of rejecting the facts and narrative of one or other of these historians is avoided, and that we are enabled to receive the entire accounts of Ctesias and Berosus, who drew respectively from the written records of Persia and Babylon, and which, if faithfully copied, should afford, therefore, the most authentic evidence we could desire; that the whole of the narrative of Xenophon, so strikingly illustrative of Scripture, is, with one exception only, received as correct; and that the whole of the facts recorded by Herodotus concerning Cyrus, are admitted as mainly authentic; the only alteration proposed to be introduced in his history, for the correctness of which he tells us himself he cannot vouch, being, that the events which he has attributed to one king only of the

name of Cyrus, should be appropriated to two distinct princes of that name.

We shall also have occasion to show from an examination of the Lydian chronology, derived from the Parian Chronicle and other authentic sources, that the capture of Sardis and the dethronement of Cræsus could not have happened till after the year B. c. 536, so that the capture of Babylon, which was later than that of Sardis, cannot properly be placed in the year B. c. 538, as usually supposed. These points will be fully discussed hereafter. We proceed now to observe, that —

Fourthly. The received chronology of these times is wholly inconsistent with the historical date of the eclipse of Thales. Whereas, the shorter reckoning which we propose, accords with the date handed down to us by Pliny and other ancient writers, in the most remarkable manner. The eclipse of Thales is one of the most invaluable beacons to the chronologist to be found in all ancient history, and on it depend most of the important dates connected with the period of which we are treating. There is no difference of opinion with regard to the true date of this eclipse amongst ancient historians. All concur in placing it at the end of the 48th, or beginning of the 49th Olympiad, and, by calculation, the only total eclipse of the sun about that time, fell on the 28th of May, B. c. 585.

Prideaux, Petavius, Hales, Ussher, Marsham, Playfair, and most other modern chronologists are

forced to seek for some other eclipse than that of the year B. c. 585, in order to produce consistency in the chronology they adopt, and the eclipses of the years B. c. 618, 607, 603, 601, and 597, have severally been preferred by the different authors. Sir Isaac Newton, Scaliger, and Jackson are among those who adhere to the evidence of history on this point, and adopt the year B. c. 585, though Newton, in doing so, is constrained to reverse the order of the reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages, kings of Media, for which, however, there is authority.

Let us now consider how precisely the historical date of the eclipse of Thales falls in with, and confirms, our proposed reckoning; and we may observe, in passing, that, considering Newton's peculiar view, both of the evidence of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and of the prophecy of the seventy weeks*, and his adoption also of the historical date of this eclipse, it is surprising that he has expressed no suspicion of the incorrectness of the current reckoning, which cannot, I think, but have occurred to him.

In the year of this eclipse, which caused the suspension of a battle between Alyattes king of Lydia, and Cyaxares king of Media, we are informed by Herodotus, that Astyages, son of Cyaxares, married the daughter of king Alyattes. We also

* Newton also has pointed out how there are sixty-two weeks of years from the completion of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemiah in the 28th year of Artaxerxes, according to Josephus, to the birth of Christ, which so well agrees with our reckoning, and in which he stands alone amongst commentators.

learn from Xenophon, that this Astyages had a son named Cyaxares, who succeeded him on the throne, and whom, therefore, we may presume to have been the offspring of this royal alliance. Again, the history of this Cyaxares, as related by Xenophon—who informs us how Babylon was taken by his army under the command of Cyrus, during a great feast, and in the depth of night, and how Cyrus, after spending some time in settling the government, delivered the kingdom into his hands,—sufficiently identifies him, as has been often before observed, with Darius the Median of the book of Daniel. And Daniel informs us that Darius the Median was about sixty-two years* of age when he took the kingdom of Babylon, a chronological notice which has not been recorded without some foreseen object. Allowing then one year after the marriage to the birth of Cyaxares, his sixty-second year would begin in the year B. C. 523.

Now Jerusalem, we have seen, was taken in the year B. C. 555, according to our reckoning, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and this king, according to Berosus, reigned twenty-four years after that event. Then reigned Evilmerodach two years, Neriglissor four years, and Laborosoarchod nine months, the Belshazzar of Scripture being one or other of these two last kings. Belshazzar was slain, therefore, about thirty-one years after the capture of Jerusalem, that is, in B. C. 555–31 = B. C. 524, and Cyaxares, or Darius the Median, took

* Daniel, v. 31.

the kingdom in the year B. C. 523, being the sixty-third year after the marriage of his father Astyages, and the year following the capture of Babylon, by his general, Cyrus, the son of Mandane and Cambyses.

Surely this is a most striking coincidence between the evidence of Scripture and profane history, and powerfully confirmatory of the view we have taken of Scripture chronology. Were this argument even standing alone, it would go far towards subverting the system which has so long been received as correct.

Lastly, the truth of the proposed scheme of Scripture chronology is placed beyond all dispute, by submitting it to the test of the Astronomical Canon of Ptolemy, which gives a list of the kings of Babylon, the dates of whose reigns are fixed with unerring precision, by means of several eclipses observed and recorded at Babylon.

“To the authenticity of the copies of Ptolemy’s Canon,” observes Dr. Hales, “the strongest testimony is given, by their exact agreement throughout with above twenty dates and computations of eclipses in Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, recited by Jackson, as he himself acknowledges, vol. i. p. 450. From its great use as an astronomical era, confirmed by unerring characters of eclipses, this canon justly obtained the highest authority among historians also. It has most deservedly been esteemed an invaluable treasure, *omni auro preciosior*, as Calvisius says, and of the greatest use

in chronology, without which, as Marsham observes, ‘there could scarcely be any transition from sacred to profane history; and by means of it some important dates are supplied in sacred chronology that could not be otherwise ascertained. It fills up, especially, an important chasm, from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the reign of Cyrus, without which the term of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity ending with the latter, could not easily be adjusted.”*

By the aid of this canon we propose to show that the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah, may be fixed with mathematical precision to the year B. C. 682-1, that is to say, thirty-three years lower than the ordinary reckoning; and from certain historical extracts recently discovered in the Armenian copy of Eusebius, it will appear, that this famous chronological record, hitherto considered one of the chief supports of the current system, affords, in fact, the most decisive proof of its incorrectness to the full extent we have observed.

CANON OF PTOLEMY,
as ordinarily arranged in conformity with the
following eclipses:—

	Eclipse of the
In the first year of Mardocempadus	Moon, 19 March, B. C. 721.
In the second year of do	Sun, 8 March, B. C. 720.
In the fifth year of Nabopalassar -	Moon, 21 April, B. C. 621.
In the seventh year of Cambyzes -	Moon, 17 July, B. C. 523.

* Hales, vol. i. p. 166.

Nabonassar reigned	-	-	-	14 years from B. c.	747.
Nadius	-	-	-	2	733.
Chinzerus and Porus	-	-	-	5	731.
Jugœus	-	-	-	5	726.
Mardocempadus. (Merodach Beladan)	-	-	-	12	721.
Archian	-	-	-	5	709.
Interregnum	-	-	-	2	704.
Belibus	-	-	-	3	702.
Apronadius	-	-	-	6	699.
Regibelus	-	-	-	1	693.
Mesessimordak	-	-	-	4	692.
Interregnum	-	-	-	8	688.
Asaradinus. (Esarhaddon)	-	-	-	13	680.
Saosduchinus	-	-	-	20	667.
Chyniladinus	-	-	-	22	647.
Nabopalassar (Labynetus)	-	-	-	21	625.
Nabokolassar (Nebuchanezzar)	-	-	-	43	604.
Ilverodamus (Evilmerodach)	-	-	-	2	561.
Nericassolassar (Belshazzar)	-	-	-	4	559.
Nabonadius	-	-	-	17	555.
Cyrus	-	-	-	9	538.
Cambyses	-	-	-	8	529.

Now in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against Jerusalem to besiege it. His army, we know, was miraculously destroyed. He returned to Nineveh, and being slain by Adramelek and Sharezar, Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead. But Esarhaddon, according to the Canon, began to reign in B. c. 680 ; the fourteenth year of Hezekiah ought therefore to be found coinciding with the years B. c. 681 or 682.

Again, when Isaiah promised that the city should be delivered from Sennacherib, his expressions indicate that the fourteenth year of Hezekiah

was sabbatical, and the following year a jubilee, as will be proved hereafter; and according to our table of sabbatical years and jubilees, the year B. c. 682-1 was sabbatical, 681-80 a jubilee.

Thirdly, from the chronology of Demetrius we have seen, that the ten tribes were carried away into captivity, 473 years and 9 months before the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, that is, in the year B. c. 690, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, as we learn from Scripture. And if the sixth year of Hezekiah began in B. c. 690, the fourteenth year must have begun in B. c. 682.

For all these reasons, it might justly be concluded that the fourteenth year of Hezekiah fell in the year B. c. 682-1. Nevertheless, it is placed in the year B. c. 714, according to the common reckoning, which is the eighth year of Mardocempadus. And since, we are told, that Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon*, sent messengers to Hezekiah in the fourteenth year of his reign, and Merodach-Baladan and Mardocempadus are supposed to be the same king, the correctness of the reckoning is assumed to be thus confirmed.

This supposition, however, is completely set aside by a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor, found in the recently discovered Armenian copy of Eusebius, which partly fills up the interregnum between the reigns of Mesessimordak and Asaradinus in the Canon, and informs us that Merodach-Baladan actually reigned in the third year before Asordanius or Esarhaddon came to the throne of Babylon. From this historical fragment, the contents

* II Kings, xx. 12.

of which were originally derived, in all probability, from Berosus, we learn, that after Acises, reigned Marodach-Baladanus for six months, who was slain by Elibus, who, in turn, was conquered by Sennacherib in the third year of his reign, and that Sennacherib then set up his son Asordanius in his stead, as king of Babylon. So that, supposing Asordanius, Esarhaddon or Asaradinus to have begun to reign in autumn, B. C. 680, the six months of Merodach-Baladan must have fallen between the spring and autumn of B. C. 682, or the fourteenth of Hezekiah according to our reckoning.*

The precision of this agreement between the Canon of Ptolemy, and our proposed chronology at this point, cannot be exceeded, and I submit that it is decisive of the question at issue.

By thus lowering the date of the reign of Hezekiah thirty-three years, the position of the whole series of kings of Judah is, of course, altered to the same extent with reference to the Canon of Ptolemy. And this, at first sight, appears to create some confusion. The dates of the several reigns mentioned in the Canon, from Mardocempadus to Nabopalassar, are ascertained, as before observed, by means of three eclipses, and this part of the Canon, therefore, is immoveable. The date, however, of the reign of Nabokolassar, the successor of Nabopalassar, is not so clearly ascertained. And as

* The fourteenth year of Hezekiah I conceive began in Nisan B. C. 682 and ended in Adar B. C. 681.

this king, who reigned forty-three years, is undoubtedly the same with the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture, who reigned forty-three years, his reign must, if we are correct, be placed thirty-one years lower in the Canon to make it identical with that of Nebuchadnezzar, who in his nineteenth year conquered Zedekiah; thus leaving an interval of the same number of years between the reigns of Nabopalassar and Nabokolassar of the Canon to be accounted for.

This apparent difficulty leads to the discovery of an important error in the construction of the Canon itself; viz. the omission of a whole reign or dynasty after the twenty-one years' reign of Nabopalassar, in the correction of which we are greatly assisted by the Armenian copy of Eusebius. We are informed by Herodotus, that in the reign of Cyaxares, king of Media, the Scythians obtained possession of the empire of Asia*, and held it for twenty-eight years, after defeating that king of Nineveh who had conquered and slain Phraortes, the predecessor of Cyaxares. And the king of Nineveh so defeated was, no doubt, Nabopalassar, called Nebuchodonosor in the book of Judith, who slew Arphaxad, king of Media. The Scythians, he also informs us, invaded Syria, and went down towards Egypt, upon which they were bought off by Psammeticus, king of Egypt.† They possessed themselves, however, of the cities of Hierapolis and Scythopolis ‡, so called after themselves, and

* Herodot. i. 103.

† Ibid. 105.

‡ Bochart, lib. iii. cap. 13.

Ascalon in Philistia. And when Herodotus narrates how Psammeticus consumed twenty-nine years of his reign in the siege of Azotus, or Ashdod, we can hardly doubt that he refers to the period of the duration of the Scythian rule in Asia, during which Azotus formed probably one of their frontier fortresses against Egypt. Now from a fragment of Abydenus, found in the Armenian Eusebius, we observe that Saracus, a king not mentioned in the Canon, succeeded Sardanapalus, who, according to Polyhistor, is the same as Nabopalassar*, on the throne of Nineveh, and Polyhistor informs us, that in turn this Saracus was again conquered in Nineveh by Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus, who must have been the same with the Nebuchodonosor of the book of Tobit, who, together with Ahasuerus, or Cyaxares, captured Nineveh. So that the reign of Saracus, who I take to be the Scythian king, must have fallen in the broken interval of the reign of Nabopalassar, though omitted altogether in the Canon. This conclusion is strongly confirmed by the inscription on the rock at Behistun, lately deciphered by Major Rawlinson†, from which we learn that the Scythian king conquered by Darius Hystaspes was also called Saracus; from which we may infer, that Saracus was a generic title with the Scythians. Herodotus, with great accuracy, points out how the twenty-eight years of the Scythian dominion are included in the forty

* Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 59—64.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. x. part i.

years' nominal reign of Cyaxares, king of Media, the contemporary of Nabopalassar. But the Babylonish historian appears to have reckoned differently, and merely to have recorded the years of the actual reign of Nabopalassar, exclusive of the interval of 28 years of usurpation by the Scythians, which 28 years accordingly have been taken no notice of in the Canon. The years of Nabopalassar are counted in the Canon as 21, by Berosus as 29. The explanation of which is that he reigned 21 years before Saracus, and 8 years more on the recovery of the throne, 3 of which added to 28 make up the interval of 31 years, and 5 of which were passed in association with his son Nebuchadnezzar.

The particulars of this re-adjustment of the Canon will be fully discussed hereafter. We will now merely observe, that the reinsertion of the reign of Saracus the Scythian as proposed, in no way interferes with any of the fixed points upon which the canon is founded, but only with that part of it in which uncertainty and contradiction already prevail, as evidenced by comparing together the three only copies of the Canon which have come down to us.

Another interesting consequence of lowering the dates of the reigns of the kings of Judah to the extent of thirty-three years is the harmony thereby produced between Egyptian and Scripture chronology at a point where there has hitherto been some confusion. By lowering the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, thirty-three years, the reign of Neco, who slew Josiah, and the reigns also of his

predecessors, are necessarily lowered to the same extent. The result is, that the end of the reign of Sethos, or So, king of Egypt, and the beginning of the reign of his successor Tarcos, or Tarakah, king of Ethiopia, are brought on a level with the beginning of the reign of Asaradinus, or Esarhaddon, of the Canon of Ptolemy, and the fifteenth year of Hezekiah. All which beautifully illustrates Scripture and Herodotus; for we learn from Scripture that So, king of Egypt, was on the throne in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, went down towards Egypt, having heard that Tarakah, king of Ethiopia, was coming out against him. And from Herodotus we learn that Sennacherib came against Egypt while Sethos was yet on the throne: and again, from Scripture, that Sennacherib was succeeded by Esarhaddon, about the fifteenth year of Hezekiah. So that Esarhaddon succeeds Sennacherib, and Tarakah succeeds Sethos about the same time in the reign of that king of Judah; all which comes sadly out of place in the received chronology, but is in perfect harmony with history after the proposed deduction of thirty-three years.

Another result, however, of this deduction is to bring the end of the reign of Amosis, king of Egypt, far below the reign of Cambyses, king of Persia, which is at variance with the account given by Herodotus and the generally received notions of Egyptian chronology, which suppose Cambyses to have succeeded Amosis on the throne. I will

not stay here to discuss this point. I will confidently predict, however, that the result I have pointed out will lead to the discovery of an error in Egyptian chronology, about the time of the beginning of the Persian dynasty in Egypt. If there is no error in Egyptian chronology at this point, then must our proposed reckoning be incorrect.

Nevertheless, the story related by Herodotus, of Amosis sending in marriage to Cambyses the daughter of the deceased king Apries, at a time when Apries must have been dead forty years, has already frequently been pointed out as highly improbable*; while the story becomes perfectly natural and consistent, on lowering the reigns of Apries and Amosis thirty-three years. And, again, a noble author before referred to, besides other acute and valuable remarks on this subject, has observed†, that the Amosis whom we find, according to Herodotus, commanding the armies of Egypt‡ in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, is probably the same as he who is erroneously said to have preceded Cambyses on the throne of Egypt.

Let us now proceed to point out the mode in which the deduction of thirty-three years from the received chronology will bear upon the explanation of the prophecy of the "Seventy Weeks." We have already observed, that the primary object

* See Prid. Conn. vol. i. p. 236.

† Times of Daniel, p. 185.

‡ Herodot. iv. 167.

of this treatise is to elucidate the prophecy, and the principal point on which the explanation will turn is still, that the Darius of the books of Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, in the 2nd year of whose reign the temple and city of Jerusalem were rebuilt, was the Xerxes of the Greek historians.

The whole subject will be divided into two parts, the first of which will arrange itself under the following heads.

1st. That "the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem" went forth by the mouth of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah in the second year of the reign of a Persian prince called Darius; and that this prince is also called Artaxerxes in the book of Ezra.

2d. That the commandment went forth 100 years after the famous eclipse predicted by Thales, and in the year, therefore, B. C. 485, which coincides with the second year of the reign of the Persian prince called Xerxes in profane history.

3d. That the commandment went forth "seven weeks and threescore and two weeks," or 483 prophetic years, before the birth of Christ, and in the year, therefore, B. C. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

4th. That the year in which the commandment went forth is prophetically described as a year of jubilee; and also traditionally recorded as a year of jubilee; and that, according to the chronology which results from placing the date of the commandment in the year B. C. 485, that year was actually a year of jubilee, in regular series, counted

from the first sabbatical year after the Israelites entered into possession of the Holy Land.

5th. That Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, Ahasuerus of the book of Daniel, and Ahasuerus of the book of Ezra, are one and the same Persian prince; viz. Darius Hystaspis. That Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the book of Daniel, and Darius, the successor of Ahasuerus, of the book of Ezra, are one and the same prince, and therefore Xerxes. And that the commandment, therefore, which went forth in the second year of Darius, the successor of Ahasuerus, was issued in the second year of the reign of Xerxes, or B. C. 485.

6th. That Cyrus, father of Cambyses, son-in-law of Astyages, began to reign in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, B. C. 560, and is not the Cyrus who took Babylon and proclaimed liberty to the Jews.

7th. That Cyrus, son of Cambyses and Mandane, grandson of Astyages, began to reign as universal monarch, in the year B. C. 508, and is the Cyrus who took Babylon and proclaimed liberty to the Jews.

The second part will contain an analysis of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with a chronological arrangement of the chapters, leading to the same result, that the temple and city of Jerusalem were rebuilt in the second year of Xerxes, B. C. 485, to which will be added a literal explanation of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, founded upon this date.

Whether we study the subject before us with a view to the interpretation of the prophecy, as here proposed, or merely with the object of deter-

mining the chronology of this period of history, I can conceive no inquiry more interesting either in a religious or literary point of view. No subject of higher importance can occupy our attention than that which involves one principal proof that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the long-looked-for Messiah; and in a chronological point of view, the period which is the subject of our inquiry forms the pivot upon which turns the due adjustment of the whole range of sacred and profane chronology.

There is an additional and peculiar interest, however, attached to the study of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in these days, seeing that they contain the account of the manner in which it pleased the Almighty to accomplish his promise of restoring the tribe of Judah to its own land after the seventy years' captivity at Babylon. From these books, and from the books of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, we see how sure, and yet how gradual, and at the same time unobserved at the very moment of accomplishment, was the fulfilment of the promise that the desolations of Jerusalem should cease at the expiration of seventy years. Daniel, indeed, had discovered the period from books, but the people in general exclaimed, "the time is not come; the time that the Lord's house should be rebuilt*," at the moment when the commandment had gone forth for the rebuilding. I say that to us in these days, when the great period of deliverance, not only of Judah, but

* Haggai, i. 2.

of all Israel, appears to be at hand ; when all that is taking place in Europe* and in the East with reference to this peculiar people seems to combine to bring about their promised restoration to their own land ; and when the prophecies concerning

* The following extract from a conversation between the Rev. C. W. H. Pauli with a Jewish Rabbi at Amsterdam appears in the "Jewish Intelligence" of February 1847. Mr. Pauli, in the course of the conversation, had charged the Jew with vexing the Holy Spirit, by not confessing Jesus to be the true Messiah. The Rabbi replied, "But who tells you, I must ask again, that I do not confess him? Perhaps not in the way and manner you may approve of, but in a more efficacious one by far than you may be aware of: for my continually agitating the question, Is Jesus the Messiah, or have we to look for another? does more among the masses of our people amongst whom I live, than my publicly embracing Christianity could ever do at the present: for Jesus Christ must have still some harbingers to prepare the way before him. There is more going on among our nation than Christians (at least here in this country) are aware of. The ferment that is spreading amongst us is of Divine origin. The eternal Jehovah works by means which our finite mind cannot comprehend, before we see his purposes accomplished. There is a roaring amongst us like the roaring of the sea: and we shall see before long, what no man unskilled to look into the mirror of Divine revelation, ever looks for. The גוֹיִם (non-Israelites) in general may fancy that Judah, the lion's whelp, has couched down: but he is not asleep. His rising and roaring will be heard ere long, from one end of the world to the other. So that all the wild beasts of the forest, terror stricken, flee to the dens of darkness, where they, bound with fetters of misery, tribulation, and anguish, will pine till that great and notable day, when we, with our bodily eyes, shall see what Daniel our prophet saw in the visions of the night, — 'one like the son of man coming in the clouds of heaven.' Do not think that I do not confess Jesus the Messiah."

them are visibly fulfilling under our own eyes, it is especially interesting to mark the ways of God towards his chosen people in accomplishing his word, and from experience of His dealings with the house of Judah on their restoration, to learn the lesson of patience, yet implicit confidence, while watching and waiting for that final consummation when "Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell in safety," and when all those great and glorious results which follow on the restoration to favour of the holy people shall assuredly come to pass.

The removal of the difficulties attendant upon the application of this wonderful prophecy of Daniel to Jesus of Nazareth will, I trust, be one step in the mighty movement which is taking place amongst this most distinguished and interesting of all people. But oh, what a barrier of obstacles has hitherto stood in the path of the sincere and pious Israelite, seeking for a knowledge of the truths of Christianity!

How can we be surprised that this very prophecy of the Messiah, to which Christians are apt to point as one main source of their belief in Jesus as the Christ, should have little weight with the acute and scrutinising Jew, when he finds that Christians themselves are at fault and at variance with regard to the manner of its fulfilment? How, moreover, can we expect that Christianity, presented in the polluted garb in which it appears before him in the greater part of Christendom, should have any attractions for him who is taught to say, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord;" when he learns from Scripture to look

upon idolatry as the offence most abhorrent in the sight of God, yet sees the image of a created being exalted as the one great idol of the Christian world; when he beholds the most prominent of Christian churches borrowing, as it were, from the corruptions of the heathens, canonising saints, and setting up as mediators between God and man the unprofitable sinners of this world; a church which they cannot but remember is stained with their own blood in its fruitless endeavours to exterminate their race, forgetful that “the gifts and calling of God are without repentance,” and that even in their blindness and exile the children of Israel are “beloved for the fathers’ sakes;” when, lastly, that church, in its assumption of infallibility, so interprets the promises held out by the prophets to the house of Judah and the house of Israel, as to apply them not to the literal descendants of Abraham, but to the future prosperity of that corrupt church itself; how, I say, can we expect that any great progress should be made by Christians in bringing in the lost sheep of the house of Israel, while such barriers to their conversion still remain?

Let then the Jews, regardless of such extraneous obstacles, which form no part of the essence of Christianity, apply themselves to this single inquiry—Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah, or do we look for another? and this question once determined, let them assume to themselves that pre-eminent position for which they were chosen—let them claim their own rightful inheritance—let them return to Him who has said, “How often would I have

gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not" — let them cast aside the corruptions with which that single truth is encumbered, and seizing the sceptre from those feeble and trembling hands, whose last vain effort is even now expending in an endeavour to arrest the promulgation of the Scriptures in the native tongue *, let them take the lead for which they are assuredly destined, as a nation of priests, a holy nation, and hasten that consummation, when "the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down," shall be rebuilt, "that the residue of men may seek after the Lord," — that happy period when it shall be seen that, as the casting of them away was the reconciling of the world, so the receiving of them shall be (to the world) as life from the dead.

And here let me point out an interesting result of the foregoing rectification of Scripture chronology, bearing upon the period during which it has been predicted, that the holy people shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles.

If there be truth in our reasoning, 2400 years were completed in August A.D. 1846, counted from the burning of the sanctuary of Jerusalem, by Nebuchadnezzar, in B.C. 555; or, if we calculate more correctly, from the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, when the last remnant of Judah and Israel was carried away, and the host finally trodden under foot, the 2400th year from that time, will begin somewhere in the year A.D. 1849. We know

* See the Encyclical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., published in 1845.

also, that when the question was asked, "How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot," the answer was, "*unto* 2400 days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." *

Now the sanctuary here spoken of cannot be said to signify the literal sanctuary, or Temple of Jerusalem, for that we know was rebuilt and cleansed seventy years after its pollution by Nebuchadnezzar. It must, therefore, signify the sanctuary in a wider sense,—the sanctuary of the whole earth,—the sanctuary as commensurate with the host, that is to say, not only the holy temple of Jerusalem, but the entire Holy Land. The sanctuary in this wider sense was finally delivered into the hands of the Gentiles, and the whole host of Israel dispersed and trodden under foot among the nations, either at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, which we are told by Ezekiel was destroyed, not only for the sins of Judah, but also for those of the house of Israel †, or four years later, when the forty years' forbearance of the house of Judah was completed ‡; and the Holy Land has so continued in the hands

* Daniel, viii. 14. This reading of 2400, according to the Septuagint, instead of 2300 as in our ordinary Hebrew copies, is confirmed, as observed by Mr. Hatley Frere, by seven MSS. in Hebrew and Armenian lately examined by Dr. Wolf, *viz.* two at Bokara, one at Ispahan, one at Adrianople, one at Meschid, one at Ulshkelesia, one in Chaldæa

† Ezek. iv.

‡ See Prideaux's *Connec.* vol. i. p. 124.

of the Gentiles even to the present day. For we cannot look upon the return of the remnant of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin from Babylon, to the narrow limits of Judæa, which province alone they were suffered to occupy, in subjection first to the Persian, then to the Grecian empire, as a repossession of the land according to the promise; while Galilee of the Gentiles, Samaria, Idumæa, and much more which came within the compass of the promise, still remained in possession of their enemies.

In this view, therefore, we are led to expect, that the cleansing of the Holy Land is either now in progress, or that it is close at hand. May we venture to surmise, that the late firman of the Sultan, granting permission to build the Hebrew-Christian church at Jerusalem, on Mount Sion, and the relaxation of many restrictions both upon Christians and Jews in the Holy Land, may be the beginning of the process of cleansing? May we hope that this almost imperceptible beginning may soon be followed up by a more general cleansing of the land from the pollution of the Mahomedan superstition, by the gradual substitution of the pure Christianity of the Anglican Church,—an expectation which is already rife amongst the people of Mahomet themselves,—and that “the hour, and the day, and the month, and the year,” equivalent to a period of 396 years, during which the power of the Turkish empire is foretold to operate as a woe upon the corrupt Christian churches of the East, may find its termination in the year A. D. 1849, computed from the establishment of the Turkish power in

Constantinople, in A. D. 1453 ; and that the rightful owners, so long exiled from their inheritance, may thenceforward begin to re-occupy the land.*

Such speculations are, indeed, foreign to the purpose of this work, which deals merely with that which has already come to pass. The reflection, however, could not fail to force itself on our consideration.

And now, having thus far accomplished the task I have in hand, and having laid down the outline of the following work, let me render thanks to Almighty God, the source of all power, wisdom, and strength, that He has been pleased to strengthen my feeble understanding, and to enable me in some degree to penetrate the mystery and obscurity of the subject I have undertaken. May His grace be vouchsafed to me throughout the progress of the work, teaching me with all lowliness and humility to approach this sacred subject, and, above all, may He be pleased to fulfil the object of all my labour, to grant me my heart's desire, that I may become the humble instrument in His hands, in removing from some true Israelites one great obstacle in the way of their belief in Jesus their Messiah, by showing the clear application of the words of the prophecy of Daniel to the time of the incarnation of our Blessed Saviour.

* There has been a remarkable influx of Jews into Palestine during the past year ; even from America great numbers have come. They have not been aged people only, but for a great part young, and many females among them.—*Report of the Lond. Soc. for Prom. Christ. among the Jews*, June, 1847.

RECEIVED CHRONOLOGY.

HALES, Vol. iv., p. 53. 66.

ASSYRIAN DYNASTY.			BABYLONIAN KINGS.		
215 YEARS.					
		B. C.			B. C.
1. King of Nineveh	-	821	1. Nabonassar	- 14	747
Jonah's prophecy	-	800	2. Nadius	- 2	733
2. Pul, or Belus II.	-	790	3. Chinzirus	- 5	731
I. Invasion of Israel	-	770	4. Jugæus	- 5	726
3. Tiglathpilesar	-	747	5. Mardok Empad, or		
II. Invasion of Israel	-	740	Merodach Baladan	- 12	721
4. Shalmaneser	-	726	—— revolts from		
III. Invasion of Israel	-	722	Assyria	-	710
Samaria taken	-	719	—— writes to Heze-		
5. Sennacherib	-	714	kiah	-	710
I. Invasion of Judah	-	711	6. Arcianus	- 5	709
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or			I. Interregnum	- 2	704
Sardanapalus I.	-	710	7. Belibus	- 3	702
Medes and Babylonians re-			8. Apronadius	- 6	699
volt	-	710	9. Regibelus	- 1	693
Babylon regained	-	680	10. Mesessimordach	- 4	692
II. Invasion of Judah, and			II. Interregnum	- 8	688
captivity of Manasses	-	674	11. Asaradin or Esarhaddan	13	680
7. Ninus III.	-	667	12. Saosduchin	- 20	667
8. Nebuchodonosor	-	658	13. Chyneladon	- 22	647
Defeat of Arphaxad or Phra-			14. Nabopolassar or Laby-		
ortes the Mede	-	641	netus I.	- 21	625
III. Invasion of Judah by			Nineveh taken by the		
Holofernes	-	640	Babylonians and		
9. Sarac or Sardanapalus II.	-	636	Medes	-	606
Nineveh taken	-	606			

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

		B. C.
Nineveh taken	-	2 606
1. Nabokolassar, Labynetus I., Bektanser or Ne-		
buchadnezzar	-	43 604
—— subdues Elam, or Persia	-	596
2. Ilverodam, or Evil Merodach	-	3 561
3. Nericassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar	-	5 558
4. Nabonadius, or Labynetus II., appointed by		
Darius the Mede	-	17 553
Babylon taken by Cyrus	-	70 536

SYNOPSIS OF SACRED AND PROFANE CHRONOLOGY, CORRECTED AS PROPOSED, FROM THE REIGN
OF NABONASSAR TO XERXES.

B. C.	KINGS OF JUDÆA.	BABYLON.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	PERSIA.	EGYPT.	LYDIA.
747	28 Uzziah						
6	29	1 Nabonassar					
5	30	2					
4	31	3					
3	32	4					
2	33	5					
1	34	6					
	35	7					
	36						
	37						
740	38	8					
9	39	9					
8	40	10					
7	41	11					
6	42	12					
5	43	13					
4	44	14					
3	45	1 Nadius					
2	46	2					
1	47	1 Chinzerus					
730	48	2 and Porus					
9	49	3					
8	50	4					
7	51	5					
6	52	1 Ilulæus					
5	1 Jotham	2					
4	2	3					

B. C.	KINGS OF JUDÆA.	BABYLON.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	PERSIA.	EGYPT.	LYDIA.
690	5 Samaria taken	3	Shalmaneser			5	15
9	6	4				6	16
8	7	1 Interregnum				7	17
7	8	2				8	18
6	9	3				9	19
5	10	4				10	20
4	11	5				11	21
3	12	6 Acises, 30 days		1 Deioes		12	22
2	13	7 Merodach-Baladan 6		2		13	23
1	14	8 Elibus 2 years [ms.]	Sennacherib	3		14	24
680	15	1 Asaradinus or	Esarhaddon	4		1 Taracos or Tarakah.	25
9	16	2		5		2	26
8	17	3		6		3	27
7	18	4		7		4	28
6	19	5		8		5	29
5	20	6		9		6	30
4	21	7		10		7	31
3	22	8		11		8	32
2	23	9		12		9	33
1	24	10		13		10	34
670	25	11		14		11	35
9	26	12		15		12	36
8	27	13		16		13	37
7	28	1 Saosduchinus or	Sammuges	17		14	38
6	29	2		18		15	1 Ardys
5	1 Manasses	3		19		16	2
4	2	4		20		17	3
3	3	5		21		18	4
2	4	6		22		19	5
1	5	7		23		20	6

Sabbl. yr. {
Jubilee. }

660	6	8	24	21	7
9	7	9	25	22	8
8	8	10	26	23	9
7	9	11	27	24	10
6	10	12	28	25	11
5	11	13	29	26	12
4	12	14	30	27	13
3	13	15	31	28	14
2	14	16	32	1 Stephinates	15
1	15	17	33	2	16
650	16	18	34	3	17
9	17	19	35	4	18
8	18	20	36	5	19
7	19	1 Kiniladinus, brother of	37	6	20
6	20	Sammuges	38	7	21
5	21		39	1 Nechepsos	22
4	22		40	2	23
3	23		41	3	24
2	24		42	4	25
1	25		43	5	26
640	26		44	6	27
9	27		45	1 Necao 1st	28
8	28		46	2	29
7	29		47	3	30
6	30		48	4	31
5	31		49	5	32
4	32		50	6	33
3	33		51	7	34
2	34		52	8	35
1	35		53	1 Psammeticus	36

B. C.	KINGS OF JUDÆA.	BABYLON.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	PERSIA.	EGYPT.	LYDIA.
630	36 Manasses	18 Kiniladinus or Sammuges		1 Phraortes		2 Psammeticus	37 Ardys
9	37	19		2 or Arphaxad		3	38
8	38	20		3		4	39
7	39	21		4		5	40
6	40	22		5		6	41
5	41	1 Nabopalassar or Sardanapalus		6		7	42
4	42	2 or Labynetius 1st or Nebuchodonosor		7		8	43
3	43	3		8		9	44
2	44	4		9		10	45
1	45	5		10		11	46
620	46	6		11		12	47
9	47	7		12		13	48
8	48	8		13		14	49
7	49	9		14		15	1 Sadyattes
6	50	10		15		16	2
5	51	11		16		17	3
4	52	12		17		18	4
3	53	13		18		19	5
2	54	14		19		20	6
1	55	15		20		21	7
610	1 Amon	16		21		22	8
9	2	17 slays Arphaxad in battle. (Judith, i. 13.)		22		23	9
8	1 Josiah	18		1 Cyaxares or		24	10
7	2	19		2	Ahasuerus	25	11
6	3	20		3		26	12

540	15				4	29	21	16	9
9	16				5	30	22	17	10
8	17				6	31	23	18	11
7	18				7	32	24	19	12
6	19				8	33	25	1	13
5	20				9	34	26	2	14
4	21				10	ms. Ecnabalus 2	27	3	
3	22					Chelbes 10	28	4	
2	23					Abbar 3	29	5	
1	24					1 Mytgonus	30	6	
530	1	1 Evilmerodach	1 Ilverodam	2	2	4	1 Cambyses	7	
9	2		2	3	3	5	2 Satrap	8	
8	1	Belshazzar under guardian-ship 4 yrs.	1 Nereglissor	4	4	6	3	9	
7	2		2	5	5	7	4	10	
6	3		3	6	6	8	5	11	
5	4		4	1 Balatorus	9	9	6	12	
4	1	1 alone 9 ms.	1 Laborosoarchod 9 ms.	1	1	1	7	13	
3	2	Darius the Mede or Cyaxares	2 Nabonadius	2	2	2	8	14	
2	3		3	3	3	3	1 Darius Hys-	15	
1	4		4	4	4	4	2 tasp. Satrap	16	
520	5		5	1 Hirom	1	5	3	17	
9	6		6	2	2	6	4	18	
8	7		7	3	3	7	5	19	
7	8		8	4	4	8	6	20	
6	9		9	5	5	9	7	21	
5	10		10	6	6	10	8	22	
4	11		11	7	7	11	9	23	
3	12		12	8	8	12	10	24	
2	13		13	9	9	13	11	25	
1	14		14	10	10	14	12	26	

Amosis

According to Ctesias.

Cyaxares

ms.

B. C.	KINGS OF JUDÆA.	BABYLON.	TYRE.	MEDIA.	PERSIA.	EGYPT.	
510	15 Darius the Mede or Cyaxares	15 Nabonadius	11 Hirom	15 Cyrus	13 Darius His-	27 Amosis	
9	16	16	12	16	14 tapes or 4	28	
8	17	17	13	17 begins to	15 Ahasuerus 5	29	
7	1	1 Cyrus	14	reign as uni-	16	30	
6	2	2	15	versal mo-	17	31	
5	3	3	16	narch in the	18	32	
4	4	4	17	14th year of	19	33	
3	5	5	18	Hirom.	20	34	
2	6	6	19		21	35	
1	7	7	20		22	36	
500	8	8			23	37	
9	9	9			24	38	
8	1 Ahasuerus or	1 Darius Hystaspes			25 becomes uni-	39	
7	2	2			26 versal mo-	40	
6	3	3			27 narch	41	
5	4	4			28	42	
4	5	5			29	43	
3	6	6			30	44	
2	7	7			31		
1	8	8			32		
490	9	9			33		
9	10	10			34		
8	11	11			35		
7	12	12			36		
6	1 Darius son of	1 Xerxes			1 Xerxes	27	
5	2 Ahasuerus	2			2	28	
4	3	3			3	29	
3	4	4			4	30	
2	5	5			5	31	
1	6	6			6		

Sabbl. yr. {

Jubilee. {

CHAP. II.

THAT "THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM" WENT FORTH BY THE MOUTH OF THE PROPHETS HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF A PERSIAN PRINCE CALLED DARIUS; AND THAT THIS PRINCE IS ALSO CALLED ARTAXERXES IN THE BOOK OF EZRA.

WE have here two propositions to consider:—

1st. *That the command to rebuild Jerusalem went forth in the second year of Darius.*

2nd. *That this Darius was also styled Artaxerxes.*

The first of these propositions is capable of the clearest exposition, and, except for the erroneous conception of the chronology of the times, it is difficult to conceive how any doubt could ever have been raised concerning it. The second proposition will require more consideration.

The period during which the city of Jerusalem and its temple were to remain desolate, after they had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, is not distinctly foretold either by Jeremiah or Ezekiel, so that the Jews themselves, during their captivity, and even after their return to the city from Babylon by the permission of Cyrus, seem to have been in a state of uncertainty as to the time when the desolation of the temple would cease.

The writer of the seventy-fourth psalm, probably

during the captivity, exclaims, "They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled the dwelling place of thy name to the ground. We see not our signs. There is no more any prophet. Neither is there any that knoweth *how long*." And, again, as before observed, at the very moment when the command had gone forth to rebuild the temple, the people were saying, "the time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built."*

Nevertheless, the prophet Daniel informs us that he understood from books, "that the lord would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem†;" and the writer of the second book of Chronicles further informs us, that these seventy years of desolation of Jerusalem were considered actually to have counted from the destruction of the city and temple, that is, from the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. "They burned the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burned all the palaces thereof with fire," &c., &c.,—"to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath to fulfil three score and ten years."‡

It is clear, then, from these passages, that we should look for the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, at the expiration of three score and ten years counted from the destruc-

* Haggai, i. 2.

† Daniel, ix. 2.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19—21.

tion of the city, and at the expiration of that time accordingly we find the issue of the expected decree.

The threescore and tenth year of indignation against Jerusalem fell in the second year of a Persian prince called Darius, as appears from the following passage from the prophet Zechariah, written in the second year of Darius. At this time an angel of the Lord is heard to inquire, "How long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years."* And in this same year, the command to rebuild came forth from the Lord by the mouth of his prophets as follows:—

"In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet.—Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, *and build the house.*"†

"In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord unto Zechariah—Thus saith the Lord of Hosts; I am jealous *for Jerusalem*, and for Zion with a great jealousy.—Therefore, thus saith the Lord; I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and *a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem.*"‡

"I lifted up mine eyes again, and looked, and

* Zech. i. 12.

† Haggai, i. 1. 8.

‡ Zech. i. 1. 14. 16.

behold a man with a measuring line in his hand. Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To *measure Jerusalem*, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof.”*

Nothing, I submit, can more distinctly prove than these passages, that the seventy years of desolation began to cease, and that the people of Jerusalem were commanded literally to rebuild their city and temple, in the second year of the reign of Darius. And it is extremely unsatisfactory to find commentators compelled to adopt a figurative interpretation of the words of the prophet Daniel, “to restore and rebuild Jerusalem,” as if they signified the re-establishment of the Levitical institutions, with this clear and literal accomplishment of the words before their eyes.

Again, it was in this same year that the Jews were commanded to deliver themselves from Babylon, from which we learn that their captivity was not considered to have ended till the second year of Darius. “Ho, ho, come forth, and flee from the land of the north, saith the Lord.— Deliver thyself, O Zion, that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.”† And again, “As ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel— So again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah.”‡ In this same year, also, the curse of barrenness and desolation, which hung over the land, appears to have been expressly

* Zech. ii. 1, 2.

† Id. ii. 6, 7.

‡ Id. viii. 13. 15.

removed, the land having now completed her seventy sabbaths. “And now, I pray you, consider from this day and upward, from before a stone was laid upon a stone in the temple of the Lord. —I smote you with blasting and with mildew and with hail in all the labours of your hands, yet ye turned not to me, saith the Lord. Consider now from this day and upward—*from this day will I bless you.*” *

Christian commentators have generally interpreted the word “commandment,” as referable to some one of the several decrees of the kings of Persia, by which permission was granted to the Jews, either to restore the dilapidations of their city or temple, or to re-establish their peculiar institutions, for which the sanction of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes were at different times obtained. But this interpretation is objected to by the Jews, to whose authority we must give due weight in the interpretation of their own Scriptures. Jewish commentators all consider the word which we translate commandment, as equivalent to “the word of the Lord.” David Levi, for instance, in his letters to Dr. Priestley, observes, “דְּבַר properly denotes, word, in its primary sense, being derived from the verb דָּבַר to speak, and, therefore, דְּבַר מִן מֵצָא דְּבַר denotes, from the going forth of the word: that is, the word of the Lord by the prophet, and not a commandment, by which Christians have confounded the prophecy and bewildered them-

* Haggai, ii. 15. 17. 19.

selves.”* Adopting then the Jewish interpretation of the word, as denoting the “word of the Lord,” we find but this one period after the return from captivity, viz. the second year of Darius, when “the word of the Lord” went forth commanding the restoration and building of the city. Again, if we take the common Christian interpretation, that is, “commandment” or decree, we find but two decrees of the kings of Persia which had reference to the restoration either of the city or temple, one issued by Cyrus, the other by Darius; for the decrees of Artaxerxes, in the seventh and twentieth years of his reign, had reference, one to the re-establishment of the Jewish institutions, the other to the building merely of the wall of Jerusalem. The proclamation of Cyrus, which, according to Josephus, extended not only to the building of the temple, as related in the book of Ezra, but also to the building of the city, is certainly suitable to the words of Daniel. But this proclamation of Cyrus, according to our chronology, went forth twenty-one years before the prophecy was uttered by Daniel, and by no chronological arrangement whatever can we make 483 years from that proclamation to the Messiah. In the second year of Darius, however, we find a decree which rests upon the historical authority of Josephus and the first book of Esdras, which answers precisely to the words of the prophet, “to

* Letters to Dr. Priestley, p. 96. Also Hale's Chronology, vol. ii. p. 515.

restore and to build Jerusalem." In that year, Zerubbabel having reminded the king of his vow to build Jerusalem if ever he came to the throne, "Darius the king stood up and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers, and lieutenants, and captains, and governors, that they should safely convey on their way, both him and all those that go up with him to *build Jerusalem*. He wrote letters also unto the lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, and unto them in Libanus, that they should bring cedar wood from Libanus unto Jerusalem, and that they should *build the city* with him,—and that all that went from Babylon to *build the city* should have free liberty, as well they as their posterity, and all the priests that went away. He wrote also concerning the charges and the priests' vestments wherein they minister, and likewise for the charges of the Levites, to be given them until the day that the house were finished and *Jerusalem builded up*."*

In every point of view, therefore, whether as the precise point of time when the land had completed her seventy sabbaths of desolation — as the time when the Jews were commanded by the mouth of the prophet to deliver themselves from captivity at Babylon — as the year in which they were restored to favour with God, and a blessing from thenceforth pronounced upon them — as the year in which "the word of the Lord" went forth to measure Jerusalem and to stretch forth a line upon

* 1 Esdras, iv. 47.

the city — or as the year when the decree of the Persian king was uttered to the same effect — this second year of Darius is the year in which alone the words of the prophet Daniel, viz. “the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem,” can be said to have been literally fulfilled.

II. That this Darius was also styled Artaxerxes.

Ezra concludes his history of the building of the temple with these words, “And they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, *and Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia*. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king. — And they kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy: for the Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the *king of Assyria* unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel.”*

This is a remarkable passage, and, if I am not mistaken, affords the key to the chronology of the book of Ezra. Who is this Artaxerxes, who commands that the temple should be built, speaking between the second and sixth years of Darius? and who is this king of Assyria? The Latin version translates the passage, “Darius and Artaxerxes being *kings* of Persia,” thus leading to the conclusion that two kings were then reigning together on the throne of Persia. The original

* Ezra, vi. 14, 15. 22.

Hebrew, however, reads *king*, not *kings*: and, accordingly, Aben-Ezra, Jarchi, Gantz, Abraham Levita, and other Jewish commentators, whose authority as to the idiom of the Hebrew language must be respected, take the meaning of the words to be, "Darius (who also is Artaxerxes) king of Persia," thus making the two titles apply to the same king. Let us consider the question in both ways. First, referring the two titles to two different kings. Secondly, referring them, according to the opinion of the Jewish commentators, to one.

Herodotus informs us that, towards the end of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, when that king was about to proceed against the Egyptians who had revolted, "the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his successor,"* Xerxes, his son, was then appointed to succeed him, and we may presume that Xerxes was immediately associated with his father in the government. So that, in the years B.C. 486, and B.C. 485, both Darius and Xerxes were reigning together on the throne of Persia. These two kings, therefore, might reasonably be supposed to be the Darius and Artaxerxes of the book of Ezra. But how, in this case, it may be asked, could the year B.C. 485, be called the second year of Darius, whereas it was his thirty-seventh year, and the temple have been finished in his sixth year, which was, in fact, his forty-first year?

* Herodotus, lib. vii. 2.

If we follow the authority of Ctesias, who assigns eighteen years to the reign of Cambyses, and thirty-one years to the reign of Darius Hystaspis, then must the last five years of Darius, and a sixth also in which he died, that is from B.C. 486 to B.C. 481*, have fallen in with the six first years of Xerxes. And if, again, we assume that Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon in B.C. 508, continued to reign as "great king" till the year B.C. 487, and that Darius Hystaspis, till that time merely satrap of Persia, then succeeded him in the empire of Babylon, then would the first year of Darius in Scripture, like the first year of Cyrus in Scripture, be counted, not from his beginning to reign as satrap of Persia, but from the year when he took the throne of the whole empire, and his second year, therefore, be dated in B.C. 485. The expression "king of Assyria," also, would denote his being sovereign at the time, not only of Persia, but of the whole empire.

The advantage of this explanation is obvious, as preserving the identity of titles: for Darius the son of Hystaspes, would thus be the Darius the son of Ahasuerus of Scripture, and Xerxes, the Artaxerxes of Scripture. There is also some colour given to this explanation, by the statement of Lucian, on the authority, it is said, of inscriptions on monuments in Persia, that Cyrus lived to the age of one hundred years, and the opinion of the modern Persian historians, that Cyrus delivered

* See Table, p. 62.

the throne (that is the government) into the hands of Lohorasp (Darius Hystaspis), and went himself into religious retirement, some time before his death. The objection to this explanation is, however, that the eclipses observed in the 20th and 31st years of Darius Hystaspis do not accord with this arrangement of his reign.

Let us then follow Herodotus, who assigns only eight years to Cambyzes and thirty-six years to Darius Hystaspis. In this case, Xerxes will have been associated on the throne with his father, Darius, in B.C. 486, in the year before the death of Darius; and the command to rebuild Jerusalem was issued, I feel no doubt, during the short period of their joint reign.

Who, then, is the Artaxerxes mentioned by Ezra, as joining in the commandment given by Darius to build Jerusalem, supposing them not to be one and the same king? Clearly not the successor but possibly the predecessor of Darius, viz. that Artaxerxes who before had caused the work to cease, saying, "Give ye now commandment to cause these men to cease, and that this city be not builded until another commandment shall be given from me;"* and, when Ezra observes, "The Lord had made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them," we may reasonably presume that he means the heart of that king who was before so much set against them. Now, we shall hereafter prove that the Artaxerxes, or Ahasuerus, who caused the building to cease, was Darius

* Ezra, iv. 21.

Hystaspis; and if so, his successor, called Darius by Ezra, must have been Xerxes.

On the supposition, then, that the two titles mentioned by Ezra refer to two different kings, the command to build Jerusalem would appear to have been issued by Xerxes under the title Darius, and confirmed by his father Darius Hystaspis, who had then assumed, according to Persian custom, the title of Artaxerxes or Ahasuerus.

I do not, however, consider the two titles to refer to two different kings, but to one and the same king, viz. Xerxes the Great, or Arta-Xerxes.* The Hebrew Bible distinctly reads, "Darius and Artaxerxes *king* of Persia;" the Jewish commentators, as before observed, all interpret the passage as if it were written, Darius (who also is called Artaxerxes) king of Persia: and Lightfoot, so deeply skilled in Hebrew learning, reads the passage in the same sense. From these authorities, therefore, I assume, that the Darius, in whose reign the commandment went forth to restore and to build Jerusalem, also bore the title of Arta-Xerxes, and was the king commonly known by the title Xerxes.

The conclusion thus arrived at, that Xerxes king of Persia reigned for several years under the title Darius, before he assumed the title by which he is generally known, is indeed unsupported by any direct testimony from profane history, and is so far,

* "And these titles signify in Greek, Darius, a ruler; Xerxes, a warrior; Artaxerxes, a great warrior." Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 98.

therefore, unsatisfactory. Nevertheless the assumption is by no means improbable, judging from the known practice of the kings of Persia who reigned after his time. All Orientalists testify to the custom amongst Eastern monarchs, both ancient and modern, of changing their titles upon particular occasions.* Darius Hystaspis was called Ochus before he ascended the throne; and Grotius expressly remarks, "that after Cyrus the Great, Xerxes and Artaxerxes were national titles of the kings of Persia, besides the names which they bore before they came to the throne."† He also points out a passage in the 15th book of Diodorus Siculus which confirms the assertion. Diodorus there observes that, on the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus came to the throne and assumed the title Artaxerxes, and that from thenceforward it was ordained that all future Persian monarchs should take the title Artaxerxes.‡ What is more probable, therefore, than that the son of Darius Hystaspis, when associated with his father on the throne, first took the title Darius, which merely signifies "ruler;" and that some years after, when projecting his great expedition against Greece, he assumed the title Arta-Xerxes, or Xerxes, which signifies "warrior," or "great warrior"?

If such was the fact, it is yet possible that direct proof of it may be discovered amongst the many

* Bossuet, *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, p. 31. Sir Wm. Jones, *Discourse on the Persians*.

† Grotius, *Annotations on Ezra*, ch. iv.

‡ Diod. Sic. towards the close of Book xv.

inscriptions in the cuneiform character relating to the reign of Xerxes, which are found upon monuments still existing in Persia, the key to the translation of which has been so recently discovered by Major Rawlinson and Professor Lassen. It is true that all the known inscriptions have already been deciphered, and that no such evidence has yet appeared. Further excavations, however, may lead to further discoveries. In the mean time, it is highly probable, judging from the practice of the Persian kings to change their titles, that, as the son of Darius Hystaspis bore the title Xerxes during the latter part of his reign, he had some other title affixed to his name when he first ascended the throne.

We will conclude with this further observation : If it be true that the Cyaxares of Xenophon is the same prince that is called Darius the Median in the book of Daniel, there should be no great difficulty, on the ground of the difference of title, in accepting the conclusion, that the Xerxes of Herodotus was the Darius * of the Book of Ezra ; more especially, when it is supported by the many arguments which we are now about to bring forward leading directly to this conviction.

* There are traces of confusion amongst ancient authors concerning the two titles Darius and Xerxes. Both Aristotle and Pliny attribute to Darius the subjection of Egypt, which took place under Xerxes. (Plin. xxxiii. 10.) Herodotus also attributes to Darius what Ctesias from the royal records relates of Xerxes, viz. the taking of Babylon by the assistance of Zopyrus, all which gives colour to the idea that Xerxes once bore the title Darius.

CHAP. III.

THAT THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM WENT FORTH ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE ECLIPSE PREDICTED BY THALES, AND, THEREFORE, IN THE YEAR B.C. 485, WHICH COINCIDES WITH THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PERSIAN PRINCE CALLED XERXES IN PROFANE HISTORY.

THE course of the argument runs thus :—

1st. That Astyages, king of Media, married in the year of the eclipse of Thales, in the year B.C. 585.

2d. That his son, Cyaxares, was Darius the Mede of the book of Daniel, and, therefore, about sixty-two years of age when he took the kingdom of Babylon.

3d. That the Laborasarchod of Berosus was the Belshazzar of Scripture, and, that the assumption of the throne of Babylon by Cyaxares took place, therefore, in the thirty-second year after the capture of Jerusalem, which latter event we know took place in the nineteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabokolassar.

4th. That the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem, in the days of Haggai and Zechariah, took place in the seventieth year after the capture of that city ; and that Cyaxares was, at the time of the capture, in the thirtieth year of his age, and

born, therefore, ninety-nine years before the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

5th. That the rebuilding of Jerusalem took place in the second year of some Persian king; and that the birth of Cyaxares took place, therefore, ninety-nine years before the second year of the reign either of Cambyses, or Darius Hystaspis, or Xerxes, for it could be no later king.

6th. That much chronological confusion arises from placing the rebuilding of Jerusalem either in the reign of Cambyses or Darius; and that, counting ninety-nine years upward from the second year of Xerxes, B. C. 485, brings the birth of Cyaxares to the year after the marriage of his father Astyages.

The date of the eclipse of Thales is one of the most important chronological points in all ancient history, and it has generally been considered that, if the true date of this event could be determined, much of the difficulty and obscurity of the period of history about which it happened would cease to exist. Now, there can be no doubt as to the true date of the event, if we will consent to follow the concurrent testimony of all ancient historians; nor was it ever questioned, till modern chronologists found that the historical date was an impediment in the way of their preconceived systems. Several different solar eclipses have in modern days been suggested as that predicted by Thales, according to the theories of the different writers, until, so far from being a point fixed in chronology, this eclipse has come to be considered one of the most uncertain and unfixed of dates. We propose to

follow strictly the evidence of history on the subject.

First, let us take the evidence of Pliny, who has recorded the precise year of the event, and who no doubt had before him, when writing, some more ancient authority on the subject. Speaking of eclipses, he observes, "Amongst the Greeks, Thales the Milesian was the first to investigate them, having predicted an eclipse of the sun in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, which happened in the reign of Halyattes."* Solinus, the grammarian, places the eclipse one year later; that is, in the forty-ninth Olympiad.† Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, places it in the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad. "Eudemus," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "in his *History of Astrology*, informs us that Thales foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happened at the time when the Medes and Lydians were at war with each other; Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, then reigning in Media, Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, in Lydia. With whom Herodotus, also, agrees in his first book. The time of the event was about the fiftieth Olympiad."‡

There is a slight discrepancy, it may be observed, between these several authorities with regard to the precise year of the eclipse, which may be thought at first sight to weaken their testimony. But, on the contrary, it increases the value of the evidence. For there is but one eclipse, about the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, and fiftieth Olympiads, which can be

* Plin. Nat. Hist., ii. 12.

† Solini Polyhist. ch. xix.

‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 302.

said to answer to the words of Herodotus, "that the day was suddenly involved in darkness," viz. that which took place on the 28th of May, B.C. 585, in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad. The slight inaccuracy, therefore, of Solinus, Eudemus, and Eusebius, merely proves that the particular years marked by each as that of the eclipse was not the result of astronomical calculation made at the time of writing, but that they were recording the historical date of the event, according to their view of the evidence before them, which is a testimony of much more value. By calculation, this eclipse was either total, or nearly so. Bunting found it to be $11\frac{1}{2}$ digits; Petavius, $11\frac{1}{3}$ digits; Strauchius, 12 digits, 56 seconds, and the sun being then in its apogee, or at the greatest distance from the earth, and the moon in its perigee, the eclipse was total for several minutes. Kepler, Scaliger, and Sir Isaac Newton in modern days, have adopted the eclipse of B. C. 585, as that predicted by Thales; and, as it is the only date supported by history of all that have been proposed, there is every reason, *a priori*, for believing that it is the true date of the event.*

Our object in being thus particular concerning this date, is to fix with precision the year of the marriage of Astyages, with regard to which Herodotus thus writes: "War commenced between the Lydians and Medes, which continued five years.

* See Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 352. Petavius de doctrina temporum, L. x. c. 1. Philosophical Transactions, A. D. 1754. Hale's Chronology, vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

It was attended with various success ; and it is remarkable that one of their engagements took place in the night. In the sixth year, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, in the midst of an engagement the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement ; and it further influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon." — " They advised, that Alyattes should give Aryenis, his daughter, to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable, unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds."*

Thus Astyages, who was afterwards king of Media, married during the reign of his father Cyaxares, in the year B. C. 585.

II. That Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, was Darius the Mede of Daniel, and about sixty-two years of age when he took possession of the throne of Babylon, is sufficiently clear from a comparison of the history of Xenophon with Scripture. Xenophon informs us that Babylon was taken by Cyrus at *night, during a great feast* ; that the waters of the Euphrates were turned, and the city entered through the brazen gates leading from the river to the city, as predicted by Isaiah the prophet con-

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 74.

cerning Cyrus.* Cyrus was then a young man, and acting as general of the army of his uncle, Cyaxares; and, after staying sufficient time at Babylon to settle the affairs of that kingdom, he delivered over the city and kingdom into the hands of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, who took the throne. From the book of Daniel we also learn that Babylon was taken at night, during a great feast given by Belshazzar the king, who was slain, and the kingdom divided between the Medes and Persians, Darius the Median taking the kingdom. The identity of Cyaxares and Darius the Mede is thus complete. Daniel adds, "Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old."

III. Who was Belshazzar?

An important passage in Berosus, the Chaldæan historian, preserved by Josephus, enables us to answer this question. It runs thus: "Nebuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the fore-mentioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years: his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it nine months; but, by reason of the

* Isaiah, xlv. 2.

very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death the conspirators got together, and, by common consent, put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was, that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen ; but, when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and, having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces ; and, joining battle with him, was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up in the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away for Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus ; but, as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania as a place for him to inhabit, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly, Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died.”*

Here is a very distinct account of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, and many writers have con-

* Josephus, *Con. Apion.*, l. i. 20.

cluded that it is the same capture of that city which is spoken of by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Scripture. The result of which is, that Nabonnedus must be supposed to be the king called Belshazzar in Scripture. This was the opinion of the learned Prideaux, following that of Josephus. But the facts connected with the capture of Babylon as narrated by Berossus, are clearly different in every respect from those connected with the capture spoken of in Scripture; and the only legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the several histories taken together is, that Babylon was twice taken by Cyrus, once as general of Cyaxares, for whom he conquered the throne, and again, when he took the kingdom himself, and when he proclaimed in his first year, "the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth."* In confirmation of which idea of a double capture we may observe, that Herodotus expressly mentions that the walls of Babylon were not destroyed by Cyrus on its first overthrow†; whereas Berossus as distinctly informs us that they were destroyed on this second occasion.

From Berossus, then, we derive the following series of kings of Babylon, with the length of their reigns:

Nebuchodonosor	-	-	43 years.
Evilmerodach	-	-	2
Neriglissor	-	-	4
Laborosoarchod	-	-	9 months.
Nabonnedus	-	-	17 years.
Cyrus	-	-	9

* Ezra, i. 2

† Herodotus, l. iii. 159.

From Scripture we derive the following titles:

Nebuchadnezzar	-	-	43 years.
Evilmerodach	-	-	
Belshazzar	-	-	
Darius the Mede	-	-	
Cyrus	-	-	

Now the question is, which of the above kings, mentioned by Berosus, was the Belshazzar of Scripture: by ascertaining which we shall be enabled to count the number of years between the taking of Jerusalem, which we know was captured in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and the death of Belshazzar.

Nabonnedus was not Belshazzar, because Nabonnedus was "a man of Babylon," Belshazzar was of the blood royal. Nabonnedus was driven out of Babylon and was given Carmania to inhabit, where he lived for some time; Belshazzar was slain in Babylon on the night of a great feast. Nabonnedus was succeeded by *Cyrus*, the Persian; Belshazzar by *Darius*, the Mede.

Neriglissor was not Belshazzar, because he was not a lineal descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, and probably merely ruled in the name of Laborosoarchod, who was grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.

Laborosoarchod, therefore, must have been Belshazzar, because he is the only remaining king in the list, and was the last of the family of Nebuchodonosor, as was also Belshazzar.

This opinion has the support of many of our most eminent chronologists. Scaliger remarks,

“Laborosoarchod was grandson to Nebuchodonosor by his daughter, and last king of the lineage of Nabopolassar. The Belshazzar, also, of Daniel was grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and last of the lineage of Nabopolassar. Laborosoarchod, therefore, was Belshazzar. Nor, indeed, is there room for doubt on the subject, except for such as cannot see the sun at noonday, of which there are many in these days. The title is the inverse of Nebuchodonosor, by metathesis of the syllable ‘chad.’ Nabo-Chad-Rezzar, Nabo-Rezzar-Chad; for Labo was spoken for Nabo. Under his father he reigned four years, and alone nine months; therefore the years which are given by Berosus to his father are, by Daniel, given to Belshazzar. For lest regret for the loss of Evilmerodach should be felt on account of the memory of Nebuchodonosor, it would appear that Neriglissor assumed the character of guardian to his son, rather than that of king, and this, also, in deference to Queen Nitocris, whose great power he feared.”* Scaliger, also, following implicitly the account of Berosus, considers Darius, the Median, to have been not a Median prince, but a private individual of Babylon, called Medes (for which he finds authority in Megasthenes), raised to the throne after the death of Laborosoarchod, and the same as the Nabonnedus of Berosus.†

Grotius, in his annotations on Jeremiah, ch. xxvii. 6, 7., where it is written, “And now have I

* Scaliger de Emend. Temp. Notæ in Fragmenta, p. 15.

† Prolegomena, p. 34.

given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar—and all nations shall serve *him, his son, and his son's son*, until the very time of his land come," observes, "his son, Evilmerodach, his son's son," Laborosoarchod. And, again, on Daniel, v. 1., "This Belshazzar, who was slain by conspirators in the city of Babylon itself, can be no other than Laborosoarchod, as Berosus writes, or Laborossoarascus, as Abydenus writes, who both record that he died by violence."

Petavius, after arguing the point at length, remarks, "It is certain, therefore, as Scaliger contends, that Belshazzar is the same as Laborosoarchod, who, being a minor when Evilmerodach died, his father, Neriglissor, son-in-law of Nebuchodonosor, administered the government in his name for five years, which are given, therefore, to Belshazzar himself. When Neriglissor was dead Belshazzar reigned alone nine months."*

Dr. Hales, more recently, considers that Neriglissor was the Belshazzar of Daniel, making the death of Belshazzar merely nine months earlier than the three foregoing chronologists: he is also of opinion that Cyaxares was Darius the Median, who appointed Nabonnedus his viceroy.

But, if Laborosoarchod was Belshazzar, then was Belshazzar slain in the thirty-second year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. For Jerusalem was destroyed in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, who was the Nebuchod-

* Petav., de Doctrina Temporum, l. x. c. 9.

onosor of Berosus, as is certain from the length of his reign, and this king reigned after the destruction of the city twenty-four years and some months, and Evilmerodach then reigned two years, and Neriglissor four years, and Laborosoarchod nine months. Say 24 years 5 months $+2+4+0$ years 9 months $=31$ years 2 months, or 32nd year after the destruction.

IV. The destruction of Jerusalem, we have seen from the previous chapter, took place in the seventieth year before the rebuilding commenced, in the eighth Jewish month or November, under Haggai and Zechariah. We have also seen, from the prophet Daniel, that Darius the Mede or Cyaxares was in his sixty-second year when he took the kingdom; and, again, from Xenophon, that he was about a year younger when Babylon was taken by Cyrus. Since, therefore, the capture of Babylon was in the thirty-second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, Cyaxares must have been born 70 years $-32+61=99$ years before the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

V. We have also seen from the previous chapter, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem was commenced in the second year of the reign of some Persian king. The birth of Cyaxares, therefore, took place ninety-nine years before the second year of the reign, either of Cambyses, or Darius Hystaspis, or Xerxes; for we cannot put the supposition of any later king than Xerxes, without bringing the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians

as low as the year B.C. 480, which is out of the question.

VI. Now we have seen that Astyages, father of Cyaxares, married in the year B.C. 585, about the time of the eclipse which took place in May of that year: and if we allow one year and six months after May, 585, to the birth of Cyaxares in November, B.C. 584, and count ninety-nine years from that date to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, we bring the date of the rebuilding, or of the commandment which went forth to restore and to build Jerusalem, to November, B.C. 485, or the eighth Jewish month of the second year of the reign of Xerxes King of Persia, one hundred years and six months after the eclipse of Thales.

The exact fitting together of accounts thus drawn from four independent sources, viz. Xenophon, Berossus, Scripture, and those writers who record the date of the eclipse, is certainly very remarkable; and, indeed, if the data we have assumed are correct, the conclusion we have arrived at is certain. But, it may be asked, where is the proof that Cyaxares was born of the Lydian princess, and therefore after the eclipse? and why may we not suppose that he was the issue of some previous marriage, and born, therefore, before the eclipse? The answer, I think, is conclusive. Cyaxares was born ninety-nine years before the second year of the reign of some Persian prince.

If those ninety-nine years did not terminate in the second year of Xerxes, B.C. 485, then must they have terminated either in the second year of

Darius Hystaspis, B. C. 521, or the second year of Cambyses, B. C. 529, in which case Cyaxares must have been born, either in the year B. C. 620, or B. C. 628, and Babylon have been taken in his sixty-second year, either in B. C. 559 or B. C. 667, which is contrary to all history, and what no one would venture to support. And as these ninety-nine years could not terminate in the second year of any prince who succeeded Xerxes, as we have already shown, it follows that the ninety-nine years from the birth of Cyaxares must have terminated in the second year of the reign of Xerxes, to which history so well agrees.

Again, it may be asked, if the conclusion thus arrived at is so clear, how is it that it has escaped our great chronologists? I reply, that the conclusion has not escaped them, but they have endeavoured to evade it in a variety of ways. Ussher, Petavius, Marsham, Prideaux, Hales, and others, have evaded it by rejecting the historical date of the eclipse of Thales. Nevertheless they vary greatly in their conjectures as to the true date of the eclipse. Sir Isaac Newton and Scaliger, who see the necessity of adopting the historical date of the eclipse, have taken other modes of avoiding the conclusion we have arrived at. Newton conceives that Herodotus, in speaking of Cyaxares and Astyages, the kings of Media, has reversed the order of their reigns, and so brings the eclipse within the reign of Cyaxares, son of Astyages, instead of Cyaxares father of Astyages. He also inserts another king, son of Cyaxares, not men-

tioned in profane history, but whom he feels justified in inserting from Scripture, viz. Darius the Mede.*

Scaliger rejects the idea that Cyaxares was Darius the Mede, and supposes Darius to have been the Nabonnedus of Berosus, a private man, who took or received the kingdom on the murder of Belshazzar by conspirators, seventeen years before Babylon was taken by Cyrus.

It is satisfactory to me to find such men as Newton and Scaliger thus at fault when following the received chronology: and I am thereby the more confirmed in the conviction of the correctness of that which is herein proposed. I repeat, therefore, that if it be true, that the eclipse of Thales

* Herodotus, therefore, hath inverted the order of the kings, Astyages and Cyaxares, making Cyaxares to be the son and successor of Phraortes, and the father and predecessor of Astyages, the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus, and telling us that this Astyages married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes King of Lydia, and was at length taken prisoner, and deprived of his dominion, by Cyrus; and Pausanias hath copied after Herodotus, in telling us that Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, reigned in Media in the days of Alyattes, King of Lydia. Cyaxares had a son who married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes; but this son was not the father of Mandane and grandfather of Cyrus, but of the same age with Cyrus; and his true name is preserved in the name of the Darics, which upon the conquest of Cræsus, by the conduct of his general Cyrus, he coined out of the Lydian gold and silver of the conquered Lydians: his name was, therefore, Darius, as he is called by Daniel; for Daniel tells us, that this Darius was a Mede, and that his father's name was Assuerus, that is, Axeres or Cyaxares, as above.—*Newton's Chronology*, p. 311.

happened in the year B.C. 585, and that Cyaxares was Darius the Mede of Daniel, the conclusion is inevitable, that the city of Jerusalem was rebuilt in the year B.C. 485, or second year of the reign of Xerxes.

CHAP. IV.

THAT THE COMMANDMENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM WENT FORTH "SEVEN WEEKS AND THREESCORE AND TWO WEEKS," OR FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE YEARS, BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST, AND IN THE YEAR, THEREFORE, B. C. 485, OR SECOND YEAR OF XERXES.

THE words of Daniel are — "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks."

If these words "unto the Messiah the Prince" are rightly interpreted as signifying unto the *birth* of the Messiah, they are conclusive as to the time of the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem; and we need no other argument to convince a Christian that the rebuilding must have taken place about the year B. C. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

There is a question, however, amongst Christians, as to the right application of the words "unto the Messiah:" and the exact year of the birth of Jesus Christ is also a matter of controversy. We propose, therefore, to say a few words on both these heads.

1. "Unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks." — "And after threescore and two weeks, shall Messiah be cut off." The two clauses of this passage contain

two distinct notices of what shall occur at the end of sixty-two weeks. 1st. Messiah the Prince shall appear; 2nd. Messiah shall be cut off.

According to our English translation of the passage, therefore, there would seem to be no question amongst Christians that the threescore and two weeks must terminate somewhere near the time when Jesus Christ was crucified, or cut off; and the words "unto the Messiah" have been, therefore, almost invariably interpreted as referring to the time when the Gospel began to be preached, either by Christ himself or by John the Baptist, that is, about three years before the crucifixion, or thirty years after the birth of Christ.

It will be observed, however, that there is an indistinctness, if not inconsistency, in the two clauses as thus translated, as making the time of the appearing and the time of the cutting off of the Messiah to be the same; and I shall also presently show that there is reason for doubting the correctness of the translation of the second clause, which alone marks the time. Let us first, however, consider the expression "unto the Messiah the Prince."

How can it properly be said that Jesus Christ appeared as a prince either at the time he began to preach the Gospel, or at the time of his death? On the contrary, did he not then appear in all humility, as despised and rejected, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief? So far from setting himself up as a prince, he declared, "my kingdom now is not of this world;" and again, he

hid himself lest they should make him a king.* He was never anointed king, according to the custom of the Jews. Nevertheless Jesus Christ was born a prince, of the house and lineage of David. The wise men came from the East, saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews." And they presented unto him "gold, frankincense, and myrrh," as David Kimchi observes, on Isaiah, lx. 6., as a present for King Messias. It was revealed to the holy Simeon that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ, or the Lord's Messiah. He saw Messiah at the time of his birth, but did not live to the time of his preaching. Simeon was waiting in expectation of the appearance of the Messiah, like many others, in consequence of these very words of Daniel, and he was told that they should be accomplished before his death. The Messiah, therefore, appeared in the time of Simeon, who departed in peace soon after the birth of Christ. The words, therefore, "unto Messiah the Prince," when taken alone, are much more properly referred to the time of the birth, than of the preaching or death of Jesus Christ. But when taken in connexion with the following words, "after sixty-two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself," the termination of the sixty-two weeks seems to be as distinctly fixed to somewhere near the time when Christ was crucified, when he was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and wounded for our transgressions. Such, no doubt, was the object

* John, vi. 15.

of the peculiar turn given to the passage in the English translation, which, however, seems to be somewhat strained. What is translated “not for himself,” or, not for his own transgressions, is in the original “not to him,” or “not upon him.”

A learned Jew of Berlin, not many years since, speaking of the Christian interpretations of this prophecy, observes, “The words *יִכָּרֵת כְּשֵׁיחַ וְאִינוּ לוֹ* are rendered in the versions in the positive nominal sense,” viz. ‘Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself,’ purely to suit their own system;” and another, addressing him, says, the Hebrew words, if literally taken, signify the anointed one shall be cut off, and *shall not be to him.*” * David Levi translates the words literally; “the anointed shall be cut off, and *not to him,*” and paraphrases them “there shall be no more of him.” † Rabbi Isaac, in his “Fortress of Faith,” explains the words “*not to him*” as referring to the Jewish people; “there shall no more be a king out of Israel to thy people.” ‡ Jarchi writes, “and *nothing shall be to him,*” as if it was said, “and he shall be no more.” The Latin vulgate paraphrases the words thus; “and the people about to deny him shall be no longer his,” that is, “*not to him.*” There is much obscurity about this passage as at present written; and there is reason to believe that the word which in the present Hebrew copies now stands

* The Temple of Ezekiel, by S. Bennet, pp. 120. 135.

† Letters to Dr. Priestley, pp. 60. 62.

‡ Munimen Fidei, p. 320.

“Messiah,” or anointed, was, in the original writing of Daniel, not “*anointed*,” but “*anointing*.” For Eusebius observes, “most plainly and expressly the holy Scripture in Daniel, describing the number of certain weeks unto Christ the ruler foretelleth, that after the accomplishment of those weeks, the Jewish *anointing* should be abolished.” * Clemens Alexandrinus quotes the passage in the same sense ; “and after sixty-two weeks *anointing* shall cease, and judgment shall not be upon him.” The Greek translation by Theodotion, which superseded the old Septuagint, reads, “*anointing* shall cease ;” Tertullian, “*anointing* shall be put an end to, and shall not be.”

If, then, we are at liberty with Eusebius, Clemens, Theodotion, and Tertullian, to read “anointing,” instead of “anointed,” or Messiah, there is no difficulty whatever in translating the passage, and applying it to the birth of Christ ; and it would run thus : “And after threescore and two weeks anointing shall cease, and not upon him,” *i. e.* shall not be upon Messiah. In other words, though the anointed prince shall appear at the expiration of threescore and two weeks, yet after threescore and two weeks anointing shall cease, and the prince shall not be anointed. The sceptre shall depart from Judah when Shiloh shall come. The apparent inconsistency of marking the time of the appearance, and the time of the cutting off of Messiah, by the same period, sixty-two weeks, is

* Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 6.



thus avoided. The opinion that "anointing" and not "anointed" was the true original reading, is strengthened by the absence from the text of the article ה before מָשִׁיחַ. We do not find it written "*the* anointed," but "anointed shall be cut off," which latter expression is incomplete as applied to *the* Messiah. But even taking the Hebrew text as it stands, a character is given to the passage in the translation which it does not necessarily bear. When we read "anointed *shall be cut off*," after sixty-two weeks, the words clearly lead us to the time of the crucifixion. The word, however, וְכָרַת does not necessarily bear so strong a meaning; it is made use of in the 9th chapter of the 1st book of Kings, verse 5. "I will establish the throne of thy kingdom upon Israel for ever, as I promised to David thy father, saying, There shall not *fail* (וְכָרַת) thee a man upon the throne of Israel." And, again, the same passage occurs in the 2nd Chronicles, chap. vii. verse 18, where the same word is translated *fail*. Applying the same translation to the words of Daniel, the passage would run, "the anointed one shall fail, and not to him," or "upon him;" that is, the oil shall not be upon him. In other words,—though I have promised that a man shall not *fail* for ever upon the throne of David; yet, when the anointed prince shall be born in due time, of whom it shall be said, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David," the anointed one shall fail, and not be a prince. "And the people of a prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary."

Thus there is sufficient ground for so translating the words of Daniel, which now appear to refer to the time of the crucifixion, as to render them equally applicable to the time of the birth of Christ; and when we consider that the words "unto Messiah the Prince," which mark the termination of the sixty-two weeks, are properly applicable only to the time of the birth; and also the inconsistency of the two passages as they now stand, making the appearing and cutting off of Messiah happen at the same time, we are justified in interpreting the words of the prophet, as foretelling the birth of the Messiah at the end of seven weeks and three-score and two weeks, or 483 years from the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem.

2. Let us next consider the actual time of the birth of Jesus Christ, which we place in December, in the sabbatical year, which began in Sept. B. C. 3.

It is not my intention to enter into all the learned and conflicting arguments which have been brought forward of late years in support of a variety of different dates, each of which has been urged as the true date of the birth of Christ. There is, I submit, a sufficiency of plain, precise, and obvious evidence on the subject, to make it unnecessary to wade through laborious and inconclusive arguments, which tend only to perplex the mind, and to draw it away from that which leads directly and conclusively to the point.

Mr. Cuninghame, in his Synopsis of Chronology, has ably handled the three learned opinions of Mr. Gresswell, Mr. Browne, and Dr. Jarvis, who

have respectively placed the birth of Christ in the years B. C. 4, B. C. 5, and B. C. 7. More recently a noble author * has proposed the year A. C. 5. Mr. Cuninghame himself argues that the birth of Christ was in Dec. B. C. 3, which I cannot doubt was the true date. Much depends upon the time of the death of Herod the Great; and this event is approximately fixed by an eclipse of the moon, mentioned by Josephus as having happened on the night of the death of certain Rabbis †, who were burned alive by order of Herod, for having taken down the golden eagle erected by him over the gate of the temple, on a rumour of his death, and a short time after which he actually expired. Mr. Cuninghame, I think, has clearly shown that the time of the eclipse which was visible at Jerusalem on the 14th March B. C. 4, and which is taken by Ussher and others to mark the year of Herod's death, is irreconcilable with other events which are recorded in history as taking place at the end of Herod's reign; and he has pointed out an eclipse of the moon which took place on the 10th January B. C. 1, which was central and total, and which quite coincides in point of time with the evidence of history, and supports his conclusion that the birth of Christ was in Dec. B. C. 3.

I will now briefly state the grounds upon which I arrive at the same conclusion.

1st. "Unto Messiah the Prince shall be seven *weeks* and threescore and two *weeks*." The use of

* Times of Daniel, by the Duke of Manchester, p. 380.

† Jos. Ant. xvii. 6. 4.

the computation by "weeks," instead of days, in this prophecy, is not accidental, or without purpose. The expression doubtless has reference to the sabbatical weeks instituted by the law of Moses, by whose command in every seventh year the land was to be left untilled. Clearly, therefore, Christ was to be born, or appear, at the end of a week, that is, in a sabbatical year. Now the three sabbatical years nearest to the supposed time of the birth of Christ are, B. c. 10 — 9, B. c. 3 — 2, and A. c. 5 — 6, as will be shown in the next chapter. No one, it may be presumed, would suggest the first of these years as that of the birth, and the last cannot be the date, as it would not be consistent with the words of St. Luke, which we shall immediately quote. If Christ, then, was born in a sabbatical year, his birth must have happened between Sept. B. c. 3, and Sept. B. c. 2.

2nd. We learn from St. Luke that, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, — Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age." * Now Tiberius Cæsar began to reign in August A. c. 14. His fifteenth year, therefore, began in August A. c. 28. And if Christ was born in December B. c. 3, he would have completed his thirtieth year in December A. c. 28. His baptism by John was probably before the winter set in, and therefore before his thirtieth year was complete. Jesus, then, "began to be about thirty years of age," or had

* St. Luke, iii. 1—23.

nearly completed that number of years, in the autumn of B.C. 28, and was born, therefore, between the autumn of B.C. 3 and autumn B.C. 2.

3rd. The earliest tradition places the birth of Christ, either in B.C. 3, as Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius assert, or the early part of B.C. 2, as Epiphanius, Jerom, and Orosius assert,—all, however, within the sabbatical year.

This was the opinion also of Scaliger, who, after discussing the subject at great length, writes thus. “The result of our argument is, Christ was born in the thirty-sixth year of Herod, in the twenty-eighth of the battle of Actium, towards the end of the year 4711 of the Julian period (= B.C. 3), or the beginning of 4712 (= B.C. 2). Our Lord was born, therefore, in a sabbatical year.”*

Thus we have shown, first, that “unto the Messiah,” signifies unto the birth of the Messiah: secondly, that Jesus the Messiah was born in the course of the sabbatical year B.C. 3-2. Therefore, since the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem went forth 483 years before the birth of Messiah, that commandment must have been issued in the year B.C. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

* De Emend. Temp. p. 551.

CHAP. V.

THAT THE YEAR IN WHICH THE COMMANDMENT WENT FORTH TO BUILD JERUSALEM WAS DESCRIBED PROPHETICALLY AS A YEAR OF JUBILEE: AND RECORDED TRADITIONALLY AS A YEAR OF JUBILEE: AND THAT, ACCORDING TO THE CHRONOLOGY WHICH RESULTS FROM PLACING THE DATE OF THE COMMANDMENT IN THE YEAR B. C. 485, THAT YEAR WAS ACTUALLY A YEAR OF JUBILEE IN REGULAR SERIES, COUNTED FROM THE FIRST SABBATICAL YEAR AFTER THE ISRAELITES ENTERED INTO POSSESSION OF THE HOLY LAND.

IF the conclusion arrived at in the three previous chapters is correct, viz. that the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem came forth from God, in the year B. C. 485, or the second year of the reign of Xerxes, we must deduct exactly thirty-five years from the date which is usually assigned to the rebuilding of that city, viz. B. C. 520. And this deduction of thirty-five years is definite and precise. The date B. C. 485 can neither be raised a single year, without destroying its relation to the year of the eclipse of Thales, nor can it be lowered a single year, without destroying its relation to the sabbatical year in which Christ was born. We thus, therefore, obtain a well-defined point in Scripture chronology. The year B. C. 485 has also a position in connexion with events in profane history, more accurately defined than most dates of so early a period. For it is generally admitted that one of the best ascertained dates in ancient history is

that of the battle of Salamis, which took place in the year B.C. 480, either in the fifth or sixth year after the accession of Xerxes.* In the second year of this king's reign, therefore, we conceive that the true point of junction between Scripture and profane chronology takes place.

We now proceed to point out an interesting and important result of this rectification of Scripture

* "The beginning of the reign of Xerxes," says Scaliger, "is to be counted from the year, which is the fifth from the battle of Marathon, in the year of the Julian period, 4227 (B.C. 487). For his father Darius on the Egyptian expedition declared him king, according to a custom of the Persians which is mentioned in the beginning of the seventh book of Herodotus. He began to reign alone in the year of the Julian period, 4228" (B.C. 486). Scal. de Emend. Temp. p. 406.

Sir Isaac Newton observes, "Xerxes, Achschirosh, Achweros, or Oxyares succeeded his father Darius, and spent the first five years of his reign, and something more, in preparations for his expedition against the Greeks; and this expedition was in the time of the Olympic games in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad (B.C. 480), Callias being Archon at Athens, as all chronologers agree. The great number of people which he drew out of Susa to invade Greece made Æschylus the poet say, *το δ' αὖτε Σησων ἐξεκείνωσεν πέσον, it emptied the falling city of Susa.* The passage of his army over the Hellespont began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th Olympiad, that is, in June, Anno Nabonass. 268 (B.C. 481), and took up a month; and in autumn, after three months more, on the 16th day of the month Munichyon, at the full moon, was the battle of Salamis, and a little after an eclipse of the moon, which, by the calculation, fell on Oct. 2.: his first year, therefore, began in Spring Anno Nabonass. 263 (B.C. 486)."—*Sir I. Newton's Chronology*, p. 353.

Archbishop Ussher and many others place the first year of Xerxes in the year B.C. 485.

chronology, viz. that it leads to the recovery of the true era and mode of computation of the year of Jubilee amongst the Jews. So striking and exact is the adaptation to events of Jewish history of the chronological scale of jubilees resulting from the proposed deduction of thirty-five years, that the correctness of the scale cannot, I think, be doubted: and an additional proof is thus reflected back upon our reasoning in confirmation of the proposed deduction. The era of the foundation of Rome, and the era of the Olympiads, are of great value in the hands of the chronologist in measuring backward into the abyss of time, for they carry us beyond the middle of the eighth century before Christ: but the era of the Jubilee, if it can be recovered, is of far more importance, inasmuch as it carries us back into the fifteenth century, or nearly twice the distance of time, and within a few years of the time of Moses.

“And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard and gather in the fruit thereof: but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed; for it is a year of rest unto the land.

And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you : for thee and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee, and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall the increase thereof be meat. And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years : and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then thou shalt cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month : in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof : it shall be a jubilee unto you : and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you : ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed : for it is the jubilee : it shall be holy unto you : ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field : in the year of this jubilee ye shall return every man unto his possession. And if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another : according to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee : according to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of

years thou shalt diminish the price of it: for according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee. Ye shall not, therefore, oppress one another.—And if ye shall say, what shall we eat in the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase: then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years.”

Such was the nature of the institution of the sabbatical year and jubilee: and though we know that the whole Jewish nation was punished by captivity at Babylon for seventy years, for neglecting, amongst other duties, to observe these sabbaths, yet there is no reason for doubting that the computation by sabbaths and jubilees was regularly preserved; and, indeed, the performance of them, we may presume, was attended to at all times by the pious few who had respect for the law of Moses.

That the computation of the jubilee was regularly preserved till the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, may be inferred from the following passage in Ezekiel, spoken six years before the destruction of the city, from which the inference is clear, that the year of jubilee was then many years past, and that the next year of jubilee would take place some time after the Jews had been carried into captivity. “The time is come, the day draweth near,” says the prophet, that is, the day of wrath upon Jerusalem; “*let not the buyer rejoice, nor the seller mourn*; for wrath is upon the whole multitude thereof. *For the seller shall not return*

*to that which is sold, although they were yet alive.”**
We may infer, therefore, that it was generally understood by the hearers of Ezekiel, that the next jubilee would happen during the captivity. Let us now proceed,

1st. To fix the dates of the series of sabbatical years.

2nd. To fix from thence the dates of the jubilees, showing that the year B.C. 485 was a year of Jubilee.

3rd. To show that the year B.C. 485 or the year of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, was, according to Jewish tradition, a year of Jubilee.

I. *The Sabbatical Years.*

The Israelites, we have seen, were commanded to keep the sabbatical years, from the time when they should come into possession of the promised land. In order, therefore, to ascertain the date of the first sabbath, we must know the date of the year when they entered into possession. This we shall endeavour to point out, first, by tracing upwards from the birth of Christ, and, again, by tracing downwards from the creation.

In tracing down from the creation, it will be observed that we have adopted the short Hebrew chronology, as nearly as possible, as arranged by Ussher, down to the birth of Isaac, believing it to be the true reckoning. If any one, however, prefers the Septuagint chronology, or objects to the tradi-

* Ezekiel, vii. 12, 13.

tion referred to below, the date of the division of the promised land is sufficiently determined by the computation upwards from the birth of Christ.

		Years.	Months.
Birth of Christ	- Dec. B.C. 3=	2	1
Commandment to rebuild Jerusalem in the second year of Xerxes - - -	Nov. 485=	482	1
Destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar - - -	Aug. 555=	70	3
Building of the Temple by Solomon - - -	May 982=	427	3
Exode from Egypt - - -	- - -	479	1
		April 1461=	1460 . 9

	Years.	Months.
Deduct 40 . 0 in the wilderness ending April 1421.		
5 . 6 according to Josephus Ant. l.v. c.i. to the division of the lands amongst the tribes, ending Sep. 1416.		
6 . 0 ending Sep. 1410 to the beginning of the first sabbatical year.		
	51 . 6	

51 . 6

First sabbatical year - 1409 . 3=B.C. Sep. 1410.

Let us next assume that the creation took place 4000 years before the birth of the Messiah, in conformity with a tradition of the Jews, contained

in the Talmud, viz., a tradition of the house of Elias. "Six thousand years are devoted to the world; of which two thousand are to be void; two thousand for doctrine; and two thousand the era of Messiah."*

This Elias was an eminent Rabbi before the birth of Christ. He taught that, in the seventh millenary, the earth would be renewed and the righteous dead raised, no more again to be turned to dust: also that the just, then alive, should mount up with wings as eagles: so that, in that day, they would not need to fear, though the mountains should be cast into the midst of the sea.† And this was also the general opinion of the fathers of the Christian Church, who, receiving the chronology of the Septuagint, which placed the birth of Christ about the year of the world 5500, were in expectation of the second coming about the year A.C. 500, thus confirming the antiquity of the tradition. We follow in preference the Hebrew text, and placing the creation in the year 4000 before the first coming, obtain the following result:—

* This tradition was also received by the fathers of the Christian church. In the preface to his *de Exhort. Mart.*, Cyprian thus writes, "Jam sex millia annorum pæne complentur." And again in a tract, *De Paschâ Computus*, attributed to Cyprian, "Hic enim mundus, in quo justi et injusti ab initio seculi conversantur, sex diebus est consummatus: quibus suppletis benedictus est dies septimus; ille scilicet superventurus sabbati æterni." Quoted by Elliot, *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. i. p. 202. See also p. 366.

† Mede, book iv. p. 951. Quoted by Elliot, vol. iv. p. 252.

The creation - - -		April B. c. 4003=4002 . 9
The deluge - - -	1656	- - 2347
Birth of Abraham - -	352	- - 1995
Birth of Isaac - -	100	- - 1895
Exile of Ishmael who went down into Egypt -	4	- - 1891
Sojourn in Egypt - -	430	- - 1461=1460 . 9
Sojourn in the wilderness	40	- - 1421=1420 . 9
Conquest of Canaan -	5 . 6	- Sep. 1416=1415 . 3
To the 1st Sabbatical year	6	- - 1410=1409 . 3
	1409 . 3	

April, B. c. 4003=4002 . 9

As most of the foregoing dates and intervals differ materially from the received chronology, it is necessary to point out the grounds of variation. For which purpose let us follow the outline of Ussher's chronology, marking the extent and the points of deviation from his system.*

1st. The creation is placed by Ussher in the year B. c. 4004. The proposed date is B. c. 4003, which is the result of placing the birth of Christ in the year B. c. 3, instead of B. c. 4.

2nd. The exile of Ishmael is placed by Ussher in the fifth year after the birth of Isaac, when he is supposed to have been weaned, in B. c. 1891. It is proposed to place it in the fourth year after the birth of Isaac, in B. c. 1891, thus bringing both systems to coincide at this point.

3rd. Ussher counts 400 years from the exile of Ishmael to the Exode from Egypt. It is proposed to count 430 years for this period, in accordance with Exodus, xii. 40. "Now the sojourning of

* See Table, p. 18.

the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years." The son of Abraham, by the Egyptian Hagar, was carried into a land where he took a wife of the land of Egypt*, and dwelt in exile in the wilderness of Paran, then, no doubt, subject to the dominion of Egypt. The Exode is thus placed thirty years lower down, that is, in the year B. C. 1461, instead of B. C. 1491.

In taking 430 years instead of 400 for this period we have the support of several Jewish interpreters, (whose opinions we prefer to quote on all occasions when possible, as the subject is addressed to them), though they date the 430 years from the birth of Isaac, four years earlier than we propose. David Gantz, in his *Zemach David*, with many early writers, counts the 430 years from the seventieth year of the age of Abraham, and then adds, "But the author of the *Meor Henajim*, ch. 35., bringing forward the opinion of later interpreters, elicits a new calculation from their words. R. Moses Nachmanides writes, in *Sect. Bo.* that the beginning of the 430 years is from the birth of Isaac, and the 100th year of Abraham, and that the captivity in Egypt was prolonged on account of the sin of Israel. Thus also writes our master R. Bechai, in *Sect. Bo.* in the name of our illustrious master Chananiel, whose words are, 'All those 430 years are to be counted from the very hour of the birth of Isaac.' In the same manner writes also the learned Don Isaac Abarbinel, in his commentary on *Sect. Been habetarim*, and on *Sect. Bo.*

* Genesis, xxi. 21.

as also in the Book Sebach Pesach, in the tract, 'Blessed is he who keeps his promise to him,' for he says, that the 400 years begin from the birth of Isaac, and to those should be added thirty years, perhaps on account of the sin of Israel, as they were also detained in the desert on account of the sin of those sent to explore. Thus also R. Isaac Karo, in his book Toledoth Isaac, brings forward the words of Ramban (Maimonides) of blessed memory, to the same effect. So that, according to the words of five of the excellent of the earth whom we have quoted, the 430 years are to be computed from the birth of Isaac." * With Ussher, however, we think that the period begins more appropriately with the exile of Ishmael (into Egypt).

4th. The next period, viz. from the Exode to the building of the Temple by Solomon, is distinctly defined as a period of 479 whole years, in the following passage: "And it came to pass in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel" — "that he began to build the house of the Lord."† Ussher's date is B. c. 1012. The date proposed is B. c. 982, still preserving the difference of thirty years between the two systems.

5th. Ussher next counts 424 years from the building of the temple by Solomon to the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, which latter event he places in B. c. 588. In reckoning also the

* David Gantz, *Zemach David*, p. 14.

† 1 Kings, vi. 1.

reigns of the kings of Judah, he allows twenty-two years only to the reign of Jehosaphat, supposing Jehoram to have reigned in conjunction with Jehosaphat during the three last years of his reign. According to Scaliger, Lightfoot, Jackson, and many others, it is proposed to count 427 years for this period, being the sum of the several reigns, as follows : —

	Years.	Months.	
Remainder of the reign of Solomon	36	9	from B.C. May, 982.
Rehoboam	17		
Abijam	2		
Asa	41		
Jehosaphat	25		
Jehoram	7		
Ahaziah	1		
Athaliah	6		
Joash	40		
Amasiah	29		
Uzziah	52		
Jotham	16		
Ahaz	15		
Hezekiah	29		
Manasseh	55		
Amon	2		
Josiah	31		
Jehoahaz	0	3	
Jehoiakim	11		
Jechoniah	0	3	
Zedekiah	11		
			427. 3 ending B.C. Aug. 555.

That this is the correct reckoning of the period is proved by the book of Ezekiel *, who, when com-

* Ezek. iv.

manded to make a symbolical representation of the approaching siege of Jerusalem, is directed at the same time to lie on his left side, and to "lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it," — "for I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity according to the number of the days, 390 days." Now the iniquity of the house of Israel began with "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin," and the secession of the ten tribes from Judah and Benjamin under Jeroboam, took place we know a few months after the death of Solomon.* If, then, we deduct thirty-six years and nine months for the remainder of the reign of Solomon after he began to build the Temple, and say, six months to the secession=thirty-seven years and three months, from the whole period of 427 years and three months, we have remaining exactly 390 years, from the secession of the ten tribes to the destruction of Jerusalem, which proves the correctness of the reckoning. The variation from Ussher at this point amounts to thirty-three years.

6th. The next period, from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar to the rebuilding in the second year of the reign of Darius, produces a further variation from Ussher of two years. Ussher counts sixty-eight years from the year B. c. 588, which brings him to the year B. c. 520, or second year of Darius Hystaspis. We propose to count seventy years from the year B. c. 555, which brings us to the year B. c. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

* 1 Kings, xii.

We count seventy years from the destruction of the city, and not sixty-eight, because, in the year in which the command to rebuild was given, "the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these *threescore and ten years?*"* Ussher considers the "*indignation*" to have begun with the commencement of the siege, two years before the capture of the city. But the seventy years were to be years of *desolation*, as well as indignation, and the desolation could not begin before the capture.

In the next chapter it will be shown that Darius, the successor of Ahasuerus †, who commanded the rebuilding of the temple, is the same with "Darius the son of Ahasuerus," of the book of Daniel, in whose first year "Daniel understood by books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the *desolations of Jerusalem.*" ‡ Daniel, therefore, discovers in the first year of Darius that seventy years of desolation are on the point of completion, and in the second year of Darius we find that seventy years of indignation are said to have been just completed.

The Jewish commentators also consider the period to have been seventy years. For instance, David Gantz writes,—"From the destruction of the first

* Zechariah, i. 12.

† Ezra, iv. 6., and iv. 24.

‡ Daniel, ix. 1, 2.

temple to the building of the second temple, in the second year of Darius, there are seventy years, which are manifest from Jeremiah, xxv. 11, 12, and xxix. 10., and Zechariah, i. 12., and Daniel ix." And again, "Darius, the second son of Ahasuerus, reigned over the Persians in A.M. 3406, and, as is related in Uaikra Rabah, was the son of Queen Esther."——"Haggai the prophet prophesied in the year 3408, as is mentioned in the beginning of his book. In the second year of Darius," &c. &c.——"Then were completed the seventy years from the destruction of Jerusalem.*

7th. Lastly, Ussher counts 516 years from the rebuilding of the city to the birth of Christ. We have already shown why this period should be counted as 483 years current, or 482 whole years and one month.

Thus by simply putting together the several great periods mentioned in the Hebrew text of the Bible, without straining or contrivance, we produce a period of 4000 years, from the creation to the birth of Christ; in accordance also with a tradition equally received by Jews and Christians; and counting either downwards from the creation, or upwards from the birth of Christ, we ascertain the important date of the coming out of Egypt of the children of Israel, B. c. April, 1461.

In the Spring, then, of the year B. c. 1461, the Israelites quitted the land of bondage; they then wandered in the wilderness for forty years, crossed

* David Gantz, p. 15. and 54.

the Jordan, and entered the promised land in the Spring of the year B. c. 1421. The siege of Jericho was immediately commenced, and five years were consumed in subduing the country. Josephus is very distinct as to the time occupied in conquering the Canaanites. He writes, "*the fifth year* was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength" — "so he sent men to measure their country." — "Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the *seventh month* came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, &c. &c." * Thus the land was divided in Sept. or Oct. B. c. 1416, from which time they began to count their weeks of years. They sowed and cultivated the land in 1416—15, 1415—14, 1414—13, 1413—12, 1412—11, 1411—10; and in Sept. 1410 the first sabbatical year commenced.

Having thus fixed the date of the first sabbatical year, we may compute the whole series to the birth of Christ without interruption. I say without interruption, for clearly there was none. The year of the capture of Jerusalem was sabbatical, as we shall see; from thence seventy years of desolation, equal to ten sevens, were counted to the

* Josephus, Ant. book v. i.

time of the rebuilding, that the land might enjoy her sabbaths ; and soon after the rebuilding of the city (Maimonides says in the thirteenth year) Ezra re-instituted the sabbatical year.

SERIES OF SABBATICAL YEARS, FROM THE DIVISION
OF THE LAND TO THE DESTRUCTION OF
JERUSALEM.

B. C. 1410.	1270.	1130.	990.	850.	710.
1403.	1263.	1123.	983.	843.	703.
1396.	1256.	1116.	976.	836.	696.
1389.	1249.	1109.	969.	829.	689.
1382.	1242.	1102.	962.	822.	682.
1375.	1235.	1095.	955.	815.	675.
1368.	1228.	1088.	948.	808.	668.
1361.	1221.	1081.	941.	801.	661.
1354.	1214.	1074.	934.	794.	654.
1347.	1207.	1067.	927.	787.	647.
1340.	1200.	1060.	920.	780.	640.
1333.	1193.	1053.	913.	773.	633.
1326.	1186.	1046.	906.	766.	626.
1319.	1179.	1039.	899.	759.	619.
1312.	1172.	1032.	892.	752.	612.
1305.	1165.	1025.	885.	745.	605.
1298.	1158.	1018.	878.	738.	598.
1291.	1151.	1011.	871.	731.	591.
1284.	1144.	1004.	864.	724.	584.
1277.	1137.	997.	857.	717.	577.

570.

563.

Sept. 556—555.

The destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar took place in August, B.C. 555. Jerusalem then remained desolate for 70 years = 10 sabbatical weeks, ending in the 2nd year of Darus

(Xerxes). August, B.C. 485. And on the first day of the sixth month in the second year of Darius, the word of the Lord came to Haggai the prophet to rebuild the temple, that is, in August, B. C. 485. Maimonides considers that, after the rebuilding of the temple, the sabbatical years were re-instituted by Ezra. "The land," he says, "was left deserted for seventy years, then the second temple was built, which lasted 420 years; in the seventh year, however, from the building, Ezra came up and restored (the era of the Jubilee), and from that year they began to compute another era, constituting the thirteenth year of the era of the second temple a sabbatical year." *

Upon what ground Maimonides places the first sabbatical year after the return from captivity in the thirteenth year of the second temple, I know not. We may, however, safely venture to differ from him on this point to the extent of one year, on higher authority. For, clearly, according to the words of the angel to Daniel, of which Ezra could not be ignorant, the computation of weeks was to be made "from the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem," and that we know was in the same year that the building was actually commenced. We must presume, therefore, that Ezra computed the seventh and fourteenth years of the second temple as sabbatical, and not the thirteenth. These years would have begun in Sept. B.C. 479 and 472, which years are

* Maimonides de Schemitha et Jubilæo, cap. x.

sabbatical years counted in regular series, as if there had been no break in consequence of the captivity at Babylon. But perhaps Maimonides computes the era of the second temple from the month Nisan which followed the command, and not from the actual date of the building. In this case, the fourteenth year from the command would commence in the month Tisri of the thirteenth year of the era of the second temple, B. C. 472.

SERIES OF SABBATICAL YEARS, FROM THE REBUILDING
OF JERUSALEM TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

B. C. 479.

472.	381.	290.	199.	108.
465.	374.	283.	192.	101.
458.	367.	276.	185.	94.
451.	360.	269.	178.	87.
444.	353.	262.	171.	80.
437.	346.	255.	164.	73.
430.	339.	248.	157.	66.
423.	332.	241.	150.	59.
416.	325.	234.	143.	52.
409.	318.	227.	136.	45.
402.	311.	220.	129.	38.
395.	304.	213.	122.	31.
388.	297.	206.	115.	24.
				17.
				10.

Sept. 3.—2.

Birth of Christ, Dec. B. C. 3.

If it could be shown from history, that any one single year of the above series set down as sabbatical, was actually observed as such by the Jews, the correctness of the whole series would be proved.

Now we are able to show, from Josephus, and the book of Maccabees, that not only one, but three years of the above series were actually observed by the Jews as sabbatical, thereby leaving no room for doubt that the whole series of sabbaths, at least for the period after the return from captivity, must be correct. Let us quote the words of the learned and accurate Petavius on this point: — “There are three sabbatical years,” says Petavius, “which are clearly and accurately ascertained; the first is that in which Antiochus Eupator, the son of Epiphanes, together with Lysias, besieged Jerusalem, which was in the 150th year of the Greeks (1 Maccabees, ch. vi. 20.); for in this year, Epiphanes being dead, Antiochus Eupator marched into Judæa, and blockaded Jerusalem, in the sabbatical year, as appears from v. 49. and v. 53. But the year immediately following is called the 151st year (vii. 1.). The same year, *i. e.* the year when Eupator marched into Judæa, is (in 2 Maccabees, xiii. 1.) called the 149th year of the Greeks. We shall show in the proper place that the years of the Greeks expressed in the first book of Maccabees, begin from the month Nisan, which precedes the beginning of the years of the Seleucidæ. Wherefore, when the 150th year of the first book of Maccabees was beginning, the 149th year of the second book of Maccabees, and of the Seleucidæ, was in progress. The 149th year of the Seleucidæ, therefore, was sabbatical. With this the accurate Josephus agrees, book xii., 3–5. The year of the Greeks, or of the Seleucidæ, 149, began in the autumn of the

Julian period, 4550 (= B. C. 164); therefore the greater part of the year J. P. 4551 was sabbatical.

“Another sabbatical year is that in which Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, was slain in the castle Dagon, which was in the 177th year of the Seleucidæ (1 Macc. xvi. 14.). For he was slain in the eleventh month, Shebath, in the year 177.—We collect from Josephus that this was a sabbatical year. The year of the Seleucidæ, 177, began in Autumn, J. P. 4578 (= B. C. 136.).

“A third sabbatical year is that in which Jerusalem was taken by Herod and Sosius, Agrippa and Caninius being consuls, according to Josephus (book xiv., ch. xvi. 4., and book xv. ch. 1.), where he tells us that the year was sabbatical. That consulship fell in J. P. 4677; wherefore the sabbatical year began in Autumn, J. P. 4676” * (= B. C. 38.).

Now these three sabbatical years, beginning in Autumn B. C. 38, 136, and 164, are all contained in the foregoing list, the correctness of which is thus established.

Let us next consider how far this scale of sabbatical years is applicable to the history of the Jews, after the alteration in the chronological arrangement of that history which we propose.

In the first place, we have a series of sixty-nine years, being the whole of the foregoing list of sabbaths, counted from the year B. C. 485 to the year B. C. 3, which coincide with the same number of

* Petavius de Doctrinâ Temporum, l. ix. cap. 27.

sabbatical years ending the seven and threescore and two prophetic weeks of Daniel, which count from the rebuilding of Jerusalem; then, passing over the seventy years of desolation, we come to the year B. C. 556-5, marked as sabbatical in the list, and, according to our arrangement, the year of the capture of Jerusalem. Now we find from the book of Jeremiah that the year of the capture of the city was sabbatical. For sometime in that year, the city being threatened with destruction, the princes and people had set their servants free, in accordance with the command, "at the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother an Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee, and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free."*

Again, we have reason to believe, that the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah was concurrent with the close of the fourth year of the sabbatical week. For Jeremiah writes, "and it came to pass in the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, King of Judah, in the fourth year, and in the fifth month," &c. &c.† Now this mention of the fourth year is usually supposed to have reference to the sabbatical computation, for it can be explained in no other way; and the fifth month computed from the month Nisan of the fourth year from the previous sabbath would be, according to

* Jerem. xxxiv. 8-14.

† Jerem. xxviii. 1.

our arrangement, July B. c. 565, which coincides with the first year of the reign of Zedekiah.*

Lastly, the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah was sabbatical. For in that year Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against Jerusalem†, and in the same year the prophet Isaiah declared, "this shall be a sign unto thee, ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves‡," that is to say, this year the land shall rest from tillage, and keep the sabbath. Whether this was a constrained sabbath, owing to the presence of the hostile army, or a voluntary observance of the command (upon the observance of which depended the tenure of the Promised Land by the children of Israel,) does not clearly appear. The words quoted, however, clearly have reference to the sabbatical institution, and, if the observance of the command was to be a sign of their deliverance from Sennacherib, we may reasonably presume that the performance was intended to be, even if constrained, in strict conformity with the command, and that the fourteenth year of this reign, therefore, was a sabbath in regular series. Now the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, according to our arrangement, was concurrent with the years B. c. 682—1, which year, by the above list, was sabbatical.

The accuracy of this last date, which forms another point of junction between sacred and pro-

* See table at the end of the chapter.

† 2 Kings, xviii. 13.

‡ Ibid., xix. 29.

fane history, we shall find further strikingly confirmed by the canon of Ptolemy, which places the accession of Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, to the throne, in the year B.C. 680, and also by the chronology of Demetrius.

II. *The Years of Jubilee.*

Having thus verified, with an exactness which is remarkable, the dates of the actual sabbatical years both before and after the captivity, and having also fixed the date of the first sabbath in September, B.C. 1410, there should be no difficulty in also fixing the dates of the jubilees, were it not for the difference of opinion with regard to the mode of computing the Jubilee. The conflicting opinions on this point are thus concisely stated by the learned Prideaux: "As to the time of the Jubilee, there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the seventh sabbatical year, then there will be two sabbatical years together; for the year of Jubilee was also a sabbatical year, and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then, it will be asked, how could the people be supported? and they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the next year after the seventh sabbatical year to have been the year of Jubilee, *though they have the Scripture on their side in this particular*, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week

of years (or Shemittah, as the Jews call it) after that seventh sabbatical year; that is, whether the year of Jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week, or Shemittah. If the Jubilee were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in between the Jubilee (which was also a sabbatical year) and the next sabbatical year after, whereas the Scripture saith they were to have six. And, if the first year of the next Shemittah were the next year after the Jubilee, then the Shemittahs would not always succeed in an exact series immediately one after the other, but, after the seventh Shemittah, the year of Jubilee would intervene between that and the next, which disagreeeth with the opinion of many. However, it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know of no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those who, thinking that the sabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the seventh year after the former, have in that order and series placed them in their chronological computations, without considering that, after every forty-ninth year, a Jubilee year did intervene between the Shemittah that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed."*

In reply to this latter observation of Dr. Prideaux I trust that it has been sufficiently proved, from Josephus and the book of Maccabees, that, after the return from the captivity, even to the birth of Christ, the Shemittahs did actually succeed

* Prideaux's Connection, preface, p. xviii.

each other in regular series, without interruption. We may reasonably, also, conclude that they so occurred before the captivity. For Ezra, after the return from Babylon, can hardly be supposed to have established any new mode of computation, differing from that which, before the captivity, was considered to be in conformity with the command of Moses: and we have also, I think, brought forward sufficient evidence to prove that the same practice, in fact, prevailed before, as after the captivity. If so, then must the Jubilee itself have coincided with some one year of the Shemittahs, and not have intervened between two Shemittahs. In other words, it must have either been the forty-ninth and last year of one series of seven Shemittahs, or the fiftieth year and first of the following series. This latter mode of computation was no doubt the true one, for the Jews were commanded to hallow the fiftieth year as the jubilee, not the forty-ninth. And as for the observation that "in this case there would be the loss of two crops, and then, it will be asked, how could the people be supported?" the objector has already been anticipated in the words spoken by Moses: "And if ye shall say, what shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow nor gather in our increase. Then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit *for three years*. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year."* The sixth year's

* Leviticus, xxv. 20, 21, 22.

sowing produced food for the seventh, the seventh year's sowing would have produced food for the eighth, the eighth for the ninth. This reply chiefly has reference to the question, "what shall we eat in the seventh year?" when it is said "ye shall sow the eighth year;" but, when it is said "it shall bring forth fruit for *three years*," then the words appear to refer to the occurrence of two fallow years together, which could only be the case when the Jubilee followed the sabbatical year, once in forty-nine years. And if so, the year of Jubilee must have been the fiftieth, or year following the sabbath, and not the forty-ninth, or sabbath itself. Be this, however, as it may, if we are correct in affirming that the Shemittahs followed in regular series without the intervention of a Jubilee, then would the Jubilee occur every forty-ninth year, either on the sabbatical year or the year following. For the Jubilees cannot be separated from the sabbaths. The difference either way can amount to not more than one year throughout the series.

Assuming, then, that the Jubilee followed the sabbatical year, and so was the fiftieth year of the series, and that it was also the first year of the following Shemittah, and so recurred every forty-ninth year, we have the following series of Jubilees in regular order from the first division of the Promised Land.

B.C. 1367.	877.
1318.	828.
1269.	779.
1220.	730.
1171.	681.*
1122.	632.
1073.	583.
1024.	534.
975.	485.*
926.	436-5. * The last Jubilee observed by the Jews, in the 29th year of the reign of Artaxerxes.

Now if any one year of this series can be shown to have been actually a year of Jubilee, observed by the Jews, then must the whole series be correct. There is sufficient evidence, I think, to establish three of these dates ; one before, and two after the captivity. When Sennacherib came up against Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Isaiah said, " This shall be a sign unto you. Ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the *second year* that which springeth of the same ; and in the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof." This was spoken, as we have already seen, in the sabbatical year B.C. 682-81, and, as a second year is here spoken of, during which there should be no cultivation of the land, which could only occur once in forty-nine years, when the Jubilee succeeded the sabbatical year, we conclude that the year B.C. 681-80 was actually a year of Jubilee, which agrees with the list.

There may be, and has been, a difference of opinion as to the words of Isaiah above quoted having reference to the sabbatical year and Jubilee, and they may, indeed, be explained as referring merely to the hostile occupation of the land by Sennacherib, which prevented cultivation for two successive years. But there are two other years of Jubilee clearly defined in Scripture, which, notwithstanding Dr. Prideaux's observations, no one, I submit, is justified in interpreting otherwise, and which so exactly tally with the year pointed out, that we cannot doubt the correctness of the suggestion that the fifteenth year of Hezekiah was a year of Jubilee.

“Know, therefore, and understand,” says the angel to Daniel, “that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be *seven weeks*, and threescore and two weeks.” All are agreed that these weeks are weeks of years, and that together they signify 483 years. But why does the prophet count in weeks, and not, as in other places, express the period by so many days, or years? Clearly, and beyond contradiction, with the view of limiting and defining the predicted period to a series of those subdivisions of time, consisting of seven years, which were expressly enjoined upon the Jews, and for the neglect of which they had just completed their punishment. “When ye come into the land which I give you——thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years, and the space of the seven sab-

baths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years, then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound—and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year.” Thus was this express injunction laid upon the children of Israel; and they were forewarned by Moses that the observance of it was a condition of their retaining possession of the Promised Land. “And if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments—your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste. Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths.”* And this prediction was fulfilled when the Chaldees destroyed Jerusalem and the temple, and when the land was left desolate for seventy years, “to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths.”† When, therefore, we find the prophet Daniel, at the expiration of the period of punishment for the neglect of these sabbatical weeks, praying that his people may be reinstated in the Promised Land, and the answer to his prayer is, “Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people,” &c.—and unto the Messiah, “shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks;” it is surely unreasonable to deny that these words have reference to the institution of the sabbatical weeks, upon the observance of which depended their possession of the land.

The “seven weeks and threescore and two weeks” must then signify sixty-nine actual sabbatical weeks, and both the beginning and ending

* Leviticus, xxvi. 14. 33, 34.

† 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

of the period is chronologically fixed by the predicted appearance of the Messiah, which was to mark the termination of the sixty-ninth week.

But the beginning of the period is not only thus marked by the termination, but is also unequivocally fixed to run from a year of Jubilee, by the expression "after seven weeks." Why should the prophet reckon seven and sixty-two, and not at once sixty-nine weeks? Clearly with reference to the words "the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years; then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound." This did not escape the acuteness of Newton, though not in unison with the chronology he adopted, and he remarks, "that as the seventy, and the sixty-two weeks, were Jewish weeks ending with sabbatical years, so the seven weeks are the compass of a Jubilee, and *begin* and *end* with actions proper for a Jubilee."* He is compelled, however, to refer the fulfilment to the future coming of Messiah as a prince.

Counting upwards, then, from the appearance of the Messiah in the year B.C. 3., we find, from the sure words of prophecy, that the 483d year from thence, or B.C. 485, was a Jubilee, and also that the forty-ninth year following, or B.C. 436, was also a Jubilee, as set down in the above table.†

* Newton on Daniel, p. 133.

† Scaliger has brought forward another passage in Scripture, which, if he is correct, remarkably confirms our reckoning. The prophet Ezekiel, in ch. xxix. 1., speaks of the 10th year, (referring, as we know, to the 10th year of the captivity of

Thus we have seen, that the year in which the commandment went forth to build Jerusalem was prophetically described as a year of Jubilee; and also that according to the chronology which results from placing the date of the commandment in B. C. 485, that year was actually a year of Jubilee in regular series counted from the first sabbatical year. It now merely remains to show that the year in which the building of Jerusalem commenced was, according to Jewish tradition, a year of Jubilee.

This tradition is contained in the work of Rabbi Eliezer, entitled *Pirke**, who is supposed by some to have written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and by others more than 300 years after Christ. He is, however, one of the most

Jeconiah.) In the following chapter, xxx. 20., he speaks of the 11th year of the captivity, and between these two dates he speaks of the 27th year (xxix. 17.). Now, to what computation does this 27th year refer? If to the 27th year of the captivity, then is the passage out of place chronologically, between the 10th and the 11th year. But if the latter part of the xxixth chapter is arranged in the order in which it was written by Ezekiel, then the 27th year has no reference to the years of the captivity, but to some other current computation. Scaliger therefore considers that it refers to the year of the Jubilee. (*Notæ in Fragmenta*, p. 34. *De emendatione temporum*.) Now, the 10th year of Jehoiakin's captivity was the sabbatical year, B.C. 556-5, and the 27th year of the Jubilee, according to our table. In that year also Nebuchadnezzar had quitted the walls of Jerusalem, to fight, probably, against Egypt. (*Jerem.* xxxiv. 21, 22.) If Scaliger then is correct, here is a fourth confirmation of our reckoning. The passage, however, I conceive is placed out of chronological order, that the prophecies concerning Tyre may be brought together.

* Vorst's Latin translation, p. 101.

ancient Jewish authors whose works are extant, and his writings are highly esteemed by modern Jewish authors, so much so, that Abarbinel has ventured to apply to him the epithet divine.*

The passage in Rabbi Eliezer runs thus. "Ezra, Zerubbabel the son of Schealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jehotzedech, went up from Babylon, and began to lament in the temple of the Lord, as it is said, 'Then arose Zerubbabel, the son of Schealtiel,' &c. &c. Against them the Samaritans came in battle to the number of one hundred and eighty thousand. But how are they Samaritans? Were they not in fact Cutheans? But they were called Samaritans from the name of the city Samaria. They endeavoured also to put Nehemiah to death, as implied in their words, 'Come, let us consult together in some of the villages,' &c. &c. (Neh. vi. 2.) Moreover they formerly impeded the work of God, (i. e. the restoration of the temple) for two years, *even to the year of Jubilee.*"

This is a most valuable testimony to the fact, that the year in which the building of the temple was resumed was a year of Jubilee: and the testimony is of greater weight, as being given merely incidentally. The main subject of the passage quoted is the enmity of the Samaritans towards the Jews; and the incidental reference to the Jubilee appears to assume the fact, as well known and understood, that the temple was rebuilt in a year so consecrated. We are not justified in pass-

* See Vorst's Preface.

ing over so early and direct a testimony as this, coming also from an author so highly esteemed as Eliezer: and those who are content with the received chronology which places the rebuilding of the temple in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, or the year B. C. 420, are called upon to show, how that year could have been a Jubilee, consistently with the appearance of the Messiah at the expiration of 62 sabbatical weeks, counted from a year of Jubilee. If the year B. C. 520 was a year of Jubilee, so also must have been the years B. C. 471, and B. C. 422. But 62 weeks or 434 years counted from either of these dates will not bring us to the appearance of the Messiah, as marking the ending of the period. Nor would a period of 7 and 62 weeks counted from either of the latter dates have for its commencement the second year of the reign of any Persian king. Whereas counting from the year B. C. 485, all the requisites are perfect.

We conclude then by affirming, that the year in which the temple and city of Jerusalem were rebuilt, was prophetically, traditionally, and chronologically a year of Jubilee, and no other than the year B. C. 485: and that the striking consistency with Scripture, of a series of sabbatical years and Jubilees resulting from the adoption of this date, is a proof of the correctness of the conclusion: moreover, that by counting upwards and downwards from this date we are led to the recovery of the lost era of Jubilee, as formerly made use of by the Jews, a point of infinite importance in the study of their chronology.

SCALE OF SABBATICAL YEARS AND JUBILEES FROM
THE DIVISION OF THE PROMISED LAND TO THE
BIRTH OF CHRIST.

- April, 1461. Exode from Egypt.
 April, 1421. Entry into the promised land, after forty years
 wandering in the wilderness.
 Sept. 1416. Land divided amongst the tribes, five years six
 months after entering into the land.
 Sept. 1410. First Sabbatical year begins.
 Sept. 1367. First Jubilee begins after the completion of
 forty-nine whole years from the division of
 the land.
 May, 982. Fourth year of Solomon, a sabbatical year. The
 building of the temple begun in the 480th
 year from the Exode.
 Sept. 975. Eleventh year of Solomon, the beginning of the
 ninth year of Jubilee counted from the di-
 vision of the land to the dedication of the
 temple. The glory of the Lord descends,
 and Jerusalem becomes the Holy City.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
985		1	Solomon.
4		2	
3	6.	3	
2	Sabbatical year	4	Building of the temple begun in the sab-
1		5	batical year.
0		6	
9		7	
8		8	
7		9	
976	7.	10	
5	Sabbatical year	11	
4	Jubilee 9.	12	Dedication of the temple in the year of
3		13	Jubilee.
2		14	
1		15	
0		16	
9	1.	17	
8	Sabbatical year	18	
7		19	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 966 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	2. Sabbatical year	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	Solomon.
956 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. Sabbatical year 4. Sabbatical year	30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39	
946 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	5. Sabbatical year	40 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Rehoboam.
936 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	6. Sabbatical year	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 1 2	Abijah.
926 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	Sabbatical year Jubilee 10. 1. Sabbatical year	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Asa.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 916 5 4 3 } 2 } 1 0 9 8 7	2. Sabbatical year	11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	Asa. Covenant renewed in the sab- batical year. 2 Chron. xv. 12.
906 } 5 } 4 3 2 1 0 9 } 8 } 7	3. Sabbatical year 4. Sabbatical year	21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	
896 5 4 3 2 } 1 } 0 9 8 7	5. Sabbatical year	31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40	
886 5 } 4 } 3 2 1 0 9 8 } 7 }	6. Sabbatical year 7. Sabbatical year	41 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Jehosaphat.
876 } 5 4 3 2 1 } 0 }	Jubilee 11. 1. Sabbatical year	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
866		20	
5		21	
4 } 2.	Sabbatical year	22	
3 }		23	
2		24	
1		25	
0		1	Jehoram.
9		2	
8		3	
7		4	
856 } 3.	Sabbatical year	5	
5		6	
4		7-8	
3		1	Ahaziah.
2		1	Athaliah.
1		2	
0 } 4.	Sabbatical year	3	
9 }		4	
8		5	
7		6	
846		1	Joash.
5		2	
4		3	
3 } 5.	Sabbatical year	4	
2 }		5	
1		6	
0		7	
9		8	
8		9	
7		10	
836 } 6.	Sabbatical year	11	
5 }		12	
4		13	
3		14	
2		15	
1		16	
0		17	
9 } 7.	Sabbatical year	18	
8 }		19	
7 } Jubilee 12.		20	
826		21	
5		22	
4		23	
3		24	
2 } 1.	Sabbatical year	25	
1 }		26	
0		27	
9		28	
8		29	
7		30	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 816		31	
5 }	2.	32	
4 }	Sabbatical year	33	
3		34	
2		35	
1		36	
0		37	
9		38	
8 }	3.	39	
7 }	Sabbatical year	40	
806		1	Amaziah.
5		2	
4		3	
3		4	
2		5	
1 }	4.	6	
0 }	Sabbatical year	7	
9		8	
8		9	
7		10	
796		11	
5		12	
4 }	5.	13	
3 }	Sabbatical year	14	
2		15	
1		16	
0		17	
9		18	
8		19	
7 }	6.	20	
786 }	Sabbatical year	21	
5		22	
4		23	
3		24	
2		25	
1		26	
0 }	7.	27	
9 }	Sabbatical year	28	
8 }	Jubilee 13.	29	
7		1	Uzziah.
776		2	
5		3	
4		4	
3 }	1.	5	
2 }	Sabbatical year	6	
1		7	
0		8	
9		9	
8		10	
7		11	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
766 }	2.	12	Uzziah.
5 }	Sabbatical year	13	
4		14	
3		15	
2		16	
1		17	
0		18	
9 }	3.	19	
8 }	Sabbatical year	20	
7		21	
756		22	
5		23	
4		24	
3	4.	25	
2 }	Sabbatical year	26	
1 }		27	
0		28	
9		29	
8		30	
7		31	
746		32	
5 }	5.	33	
4 }	Sabbatical year	34	
3		35	
2		36	
1		37	
0		38	
9		39	
8 }	6.	40	
7 }	Sabbatical year	41	
736		42	
5		43	
4		44	
3		45	
2	7.	46	
1 }	Sabbatical year	47	
0 }		48	
9 }	Jubilee 14.	49	
8		50	
7		51	
726		52	Jotham.
5	1.	1	
4	Sabbatical year	2	
3		3	
2		4	
1		5	
0		6	
9		7	
8		8	
		9	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 716 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	2. Sabbatical year 3. Sabbatical year	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 1 2 3	Ahaz.
706 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	4. Sabbatical year	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	
696 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	5. Sabbatical year 6. Sabbatical year	14 15 1 2 3 4 5 { 6 } { 7 } 8	Hezekiah. Ten tribes carried away captive by Shalmaneser, 473 yrs. 9 ms. before Ptolemy Philopater began to reign over Judea.*
686 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	7. Sabbatical year Jubilee 15.	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	Sennacherib attempts in vain to take Jerusalem 128 yrs. 6 ms. before the last carrying away of Jews from Jerusalem in the 23d year of Nebuchadnezzar.*
676 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	1. Sabbatical year 2. Sabbatical year	19 { 20 } { 21 } 22 23 24 25 26 { 27 } { 28 }	

* Clemens. Alex. Strom. 1.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
666		29	
5		1	Manasseh.
4		2	
3		3	
2		4	
1	3.	5	
0	Sabbatical year	6	
9		7	
8		8	
7		9	
656		10	
5		11	
4	4.	12	
3	Sabbatical year	13	
2		14	
1		15	
0		16	
9		17	
8		18	
7	5.	19	
	Sabbatical year		
646		20	
5		21	
4		22	Carried captive to Babylon.
3		23	
2		24	
1		25	
0	6.	26	
9	Sabbatical year	27	
8		28	
7		29	
636		30	
5		31	
4		32	
3	7.	33	
2	Sabbatical year	34	Returns from Babylon.
1	Jubilee 16.	35	
0		36	
9		37	
8		38	
7		39	
626		40	
5	1.	41	
4	Sabbatical year	42	
3		43	
2		44	
1		45	
0		46	
9	2.	47	
8	Sabbatical year	48	
7		49	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 616 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. Sabbatical year	50 51 52 53 54 55 1 2 1 2	Amon. Josiah. Reigns at 8 years of age. Joakim the high priest ad-
606 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	4. Sabbatical year 5. Sabbatical year	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	ministers the government. Invasion of Holofernes.
596 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	6. Sabbatical year	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	Great Passover celebrated by Josiah.
586 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	7. Sabbatical year Jubilee 17.	23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32	Eclipse of Thales, marriage of Astyages. Birth of Cyaxares or Darius the Mede.
576 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	1. Sabbatical year 2. Sabbatical year	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Jehoahaz 3 ms. Jehoiakim.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 566 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. Sabbatical year	11 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Jehoiakin, 3 ms. 10 dys. carried away captive. Zedekiah.
556 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	4. Sabbatical year Jerusalem. 5.	10 11 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Temple and city burnt. Nebuchadnezzar reigns over Judæa.* Daniel interprets the king's dream.† 745 Jews carried away in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar = 4th year as ruling over Judæa, 128 yrs. and 6 ms. after Sennacherib.‡
546 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	of desolation 6.	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	
536 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	years 7. Jubilee 18. 70 1.	19 20 21 22 23 24 1 2 1 2	The Jubilee referred to by Ezekiel, vii. 12, 13. Evilmerodach. Neriglissor.

* Daniel and Ezra, though in captivity, still kept their eyes upon Judæa, as the land in which a root of Jesse was to spring up, as the deliverer of Israel and ruler of the earth. They registered, therefore, the reigns of the successive kings to whom Judæa was subjected. And the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, the first year of Darius the Median, the first year of Cyrus, and the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, all have reference to the time when Judæa became subject to them, not to the time when they first became kings.

† Dan. ii. 6.

‡ Clemens. Alex. Strom. 1.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 526 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	Jerusalem. 2.	3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Belshazzar or Laborosoarchod, 9 ms. Nabonadius, or Darius the Mede, in his 62nd year. i. e. 61 complete about the beginning of B. C. 523.
516 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. of 4.	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 1	Babylon taken by Cyrus in the Cyrus.] 186th year before the death of
506 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	desolation 5.	2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Alexander.* 70th year from the third of Jehoiakim.† Ahasuerus, or Darius Hystaspis.
496 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	years 6. 70	8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	70th year from Jechoniah's captivity. In this year, Zerubbabel, Nehe- miah, Mordecai, &c. return to Jerusalem.
486 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	7. Sabbatical year Jubilee 19. 1. Sabbatical year	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Darius son of Ahasuerus, or Xerxes. 70th year from the destruction of Jeru- salem. Jubilee spoken of by Rabbi Eliezer.

* Clemens, Alex. Strom. 1.

† Ezra, 1. 1.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 476 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	2. Sabbatical year	11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	
466 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. Sabbatical year 4. Sabbatical year	21 22* 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Artaxerxes Longimanus.
456 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	5. Sabbatical year	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	
446 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	6. Sabbatical year	19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	
436 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	7. Sabbatical year Jubilee 20. 1. Sabbatical year	29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38	hemiah.†] Wall of Jerusalem completed by Ne- Dedication of the wall celebrated with trumpets signifying the year of Jubilee, Nehem. xii. 27. 35. 41. The year B. C. 436-5 the last Jubilee observed by the Jews.

* The reign of Xerxes alone on the throne was 21 years; counted from the year B. C. 486, or the year in which he was associated with his father Darius, his years were 22.

† Josep. l. xi. 6.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 426 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	2. Sabbatical year	39 40 41 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Darius Nothus.
416 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	3. Sabbatical year 4. Sabbatical year	8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	
406 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	5. Sabbatical year	18 19 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Artaxerxes Mnemon.
396 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	6. Sabbatical year 7. Sabbatical year	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	
386 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	8. Sabbatical year	19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
376		29	
5		30	
4 }	9.	31	
3 }	Sabbatical year	32	
2		33	
1		34	
0		35	
9		36	
8	10.	37	
7	Sabbatical year	38	
366	10.	39	
5	Sabbatical year	40	
4		41	
3		42	
2		43	
1		44	
0 }	11.	45	
9 }	Sabbatical year	46	
8		1	Ochus.
7		2	
356		3	
5		4	
4		5	
3 }	12.	6	
2 }	Sabbatical year	7	
1		8	
0		9	
9		10	
8		11	
7		12	
346 }	13.	13	
5 }	Sabbatical year	14	
4		15	
3		16	
2		17	
1		18	
0		19	
9 }	14.	20	
8 }	Sabbatical year	21	
7		1	Arses.
336		2	
5		1	Darius Codomannus.
4		2	
3		3	
2 }	15.	4	
1 }	Sabbatical year	1	Alexander.
0		2	
9		3	
8		4	
7		5	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
326	16.	6	Ptolemy Soter. Alexander dies in the 186th year after the taking of Babylon.*
5 }	Sabbatical year	7	
4 }		8	
3		9.1	
2		2	
1		3	
0		4	
9		5	
8 }	17.	6	
7 }	Sabbatical year	7	
316		8	
5		9	
4		10	
3		11	
2	18.	12	
1 }	Sabbatical year	13	
0 }		14	
9		15	
8		16	
7		17	
306		18	
5		19	
4 }	19.	20	
3 }	Sabbatical year	21	
2		22	
1		23	
0		24	
9		25	
8		26	
7 }	20.	27	
296	Sabbatical year	28	
5		29	
4		30	
3		31	
2		32	
1		33	
0 }	21.	34	
9 }	Sabbatical year	35	
8		36	
7		37	
286		38	Ptolemy Philadelphus.
5		39	
4		1	
3 }	22.	2	
2 }	Sabbatical year	3	
1		4	
0		5	
9		6	
8		7	
7		8	

* Clemens. Alex. Stom, 1.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
276	23.	9	
5 }	Sabbatical year	10	
4		11	
3		12	
2		13	
1		14	
0		15	
9 }	24.	16	
8 }	Sabbatical year	17	
7		18	
266		19	
5		20	
4		21	
3	25.	22	
2 }	Sabbatical year	23	
1 }		24	
0		25	
9		26	
8		27	
7		28	
256		29	
5 }	26.	30	
4 }	Sabbatical year	31	
3		32	
2		33	
1		34	
0		35	
9		36	
8 }	27.	37	
7 }	Sabbatical year	38	
246		1	Ptolemy Euergetes.
5		2	
4		3	
3		4	
2		5	
1 }	28.	6	
0 }	Sabbatical year	7	
9		8	
8		9	
7		10	
236		11	
5		12	
4 }	29.	13	
3 }	Sabbatical year	14	
2		15	
1		16	
0		17	
9		18	
8		19	
7 }	30.	20	
	Sabbatical year		

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.	30.		
226 }	Sabbatical year	21	
5 }		22	
4 }		23	
3 }		24	
2 }		25	
1 }		1	Antiochus the Great.
0 }	31.	2	
9 }	Sabbatical year	3	
8 }		4	
7 }		5	[tiochus. Battle of Raphia. Ptolemy conquers An-
216		1	Ptolemy Philopator begins to reign in
5		2	Judea. 338 yrs. 3 ms. after the carry-
4		3	ing away of the tribe of Judah. 338. 3.
3 }	32.	4	+ B. C. 216=554. 3=B. C. 555, and 473
2 }	Sabbatical year	5	yrs. 9 ms. from the carrying away of
1 }		6	the ten tribes. 473. 5+B. C. 216=689.
0		7	5=B. C. 690. Clemens. Alex. Strom. 1.
9		8	
8		9	
7		10	
206 }	33.	11	
5 }	Sabbatical year	12	
4 }		1	Ptolemy Epiphanes.
3 }		1	Antiochus the Great.
2 }		2	
1 }		3	
0		4	
9 }	34.	5	
8 }	Sabbatical year	6	
7 }		7	
196		8	
5		9	
4		10	
3		11	
2 }	35.	12	
1 }	Sabbatical year	13	
0		14	
9		15	
8		16	
7		17	
186		1	Seleucus Philopator.
5 }	36.	2	
4 }	Sabbatical year	3	
3 }		4	
2 }		5	
1 }		6	
0		7	
9		8	
8 }	37.	9	
7 }	Sabbatical year	10	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 176 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	38. Sabbatical year	11 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Antiochus Epiphanes.
166 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	39. Sabbatical year	1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4	Judas Maccabeus.
156 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	40. Sabbatical year	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	Jonathan.
46 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	41. Sabbatical year	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	
46 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	42. Sabbatical year	15 16 17 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Simon.
136 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	43. Sabbatical year	8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	John Hyrcanus.
	44. Sabbatical year		

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C. 126 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	45. Sabbatical year	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	
116 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	46. Sabbatical year 47. Sabbatical year	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	
106 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	48. Sabbatical year	1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Aristobulus. Alexander Jannæus.
96 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	49. Sabbatical year	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	
86 5 4 3 2 1 0 9 8 7	50. Sabbatical year 51. Sabbatical year	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 1 2	Alexandra.

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
76		3	
5		4	
4		5	
3 } 52.	Sabbatical year	6	
2 }		7	
1		8	
0		9	
9		1	Aristobulus.
8		2	
7		3	
66 } 53.	Sabbatical year	4	
5 }		5	
4		6	
3		1	Hyrceanus.
2		2	
1		3	
0		4	
9 } 54.	Sabbatical year	5	
8 }		6	
7		7	
56		8	
5		9	
4		10	
3		11	
2 } 55.	Sabbatical year	12	
1 }		13	
0		14	
9		15	
8		16	
7		17	
46		18	
5 } 56.	Sabbatical year	19	
4 }		20	
3		21	
2		22	
1		23	
0		24.1	Antigonus.
9		2	
8 } 57.	Sabbatical year	3	
7 }		1	Herod the Great.
36		2	
5		3	
4		4	
3		5	
2		6	
1 } 58.	Sabbatical year	7	
0 }		8	
9		9	
8		10	
7		11	

KINGS OF JUDÆA.

B. C.			
26		12	
5		13	
4	} 59. Sabbatical year	14	
3		15	
2		16	
1		17	
0		18	
9		19	
8		20	
7	} 60. Sabbatical year	21	
16		22	Herod the Great.
5		23	
4		24	
3		25	
2		26	
1		27	
0	} 61. Sabbatical year	28	
9		29	
8		30	
7		31	
6		32	
5		33	
4		34	
3	} 62. Sabbatical year	35	
2		36	Jesus Christ born at the end of the 62nd Sabbatical week, following the last Ju- bilee observed by the Jews.
1			

CHAP. VI.

THAT AHASUERUS OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER, AHASUERUS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL, AND AHASUERUS OF THE BOOK OF EZRA, ARE ONE AND THE SAME PERSIAN MONARCH, VIZ., DARIUS HYSTASPIS. THAT DARIUS THE SON OF AHASUERUS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL, AND DARIUS THE SUCCESSOR OF AHASUERUS (OR ARTAXERXES) OF THE BOOK OF EZRA, ARE ALSO ONE AND THE SAME, VIZ., XERXES. AND THAT THE COMMANDMENT WHICH WENT FORTH IN THE SECOND YEAR OF DARIUS, THE SUCCESSOR OF AHASUERUS, WAS ISSUED IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF XERXES, OR B.C. 485.

ALL who have given any attention to history are aware of the difficulty in assigning the true date to the reign of Ahasuerus, that great Persian king, spoken of in Scripture as reigning over 127 provinces, reaching from India to Ethiopia. Bossuet, in his Discourse upon Universal History, speaks of this difficulty in the following terms :—“ Eastern monarchs were accustomed to take many names, or if you prefer it, many titles, which in the course of time took the place of their proper names, and the people pronounced or translated them differently, according to the various idioms of the different languages. Some ancient histories, of which there remain few good records, have thus become much obscured. The confusion of names has, no doubt, introduced much confusion of events and persons, and hence arises the difficulty in assigning the proper place in Greek history to the kings

called Ahasuerus, as little known to the Greeks as they were well known to the Orientals." *

The difficulty here spoken of by Bossuet, and experienced by every writer upon this part of Scripture history, in fact, arises merely from the error in the received Chronology of Scripture which we have pointed out. There is, I submit, no difficulty whatever in fixing the true position of the reign of Ahasuerus with reference to profane history, if we adopt the simple outline of chronology which is clearly marked out in Scripture. There we find eleven years set down as the period between the captivity of Jeconiah and the destruction of Jerusalem, seventy years between the destruction and the rebuilding of that city, and from the command to rebuild to the birth of Christ 483 years, together 564 years, so that Jeconiah was carried away captive in the year B. C. 566.

Let us now ascertain how long after the captivity of Jechoniah Ahasuerus reigned. And then let us examine whether the king reigning at the same time in Persia, according to profane history, corresponds with the Ahasuerus of Scripture, in character and the events of his reign. We shall thence discover that this prince is identified with the Persian monarch, who, according to Herodotus, first extended the Persian empire to India.

1st, As to the true position in Scripture history of the reign of Ahasuerus.

The title Ahasuerus occurs in the books of

* Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle, p. 31.

Esther, Daniel, and Ezra, and in each of these books is supposed to represent a different king in profane history. In the book of Esther it is appropriated to Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, or Artaxerxes; in the book of Daniel, to Astyages, the father of Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede; in the book of Ezra, to Cambyses. Such is the confusion arising out of the current system of chronology. According to the system we propose, they must necessarily be one and the same king.

The period in Jewish history when this king reigned is so distinctly marked in the book of Esther, that, except for the difficulty of reconciling it with the received chronology, it could never have been disputed. "In Shushan the palace there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite, who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been *carried away with Jechoniah*, king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had carried away." * Nothing, I conceive, can be more distinct than this evidence, that Mordecai was carried away captive with king Jechoniah, though to suit the received chronology it has been argued by many, that either Jair or Shimei was the captive. It is also indisputable, that from the captivity of Jechoniah to the time of the rebuilding of the temple, in the second year of the king called Darius, was $11+70 =$ eighty-one years. And Mordecai,

* Esther, ii. 5, 6.

therefore, if only five years of age when carried away, would have been eighty-six years old at the time of the building of the temple. The events related in the book of Esther, therefore, *viz.* how his youthful cousin became the favourite of king Ahasuerus, and how Mordecai himself was placed in high authority by the king, all which took place between the seventh and fourteenth years of the reign of Ahasuerus, must have passed before the expiration of the eighty-one years counted from the year B. C. 566, that is to say, before the year B. C. 485. Whatever difficulties we may be led into by this conclusion, nothing should be allowed to divert us from this plain and distinct assertion of Scripture.

Again, "this is Ahasuerus, which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, *over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces.*"* These words lead us still closer to the true time of this king's reign, for if Ahasuerus, king of *Persia* and *Media* †, ruled over 127 provinces, and Darius the *Median* ruled over only 120 provinces ‡, and we know that the empire of the Persians succeeded, and was greater than that of the Medes, we may safely conclude that Ahasuerus reigned after Darius the Mede, that is to say, after the taking of Babylon, when Darius the Median took the kingdom.

Now we have already seen § that Belshazzar was slain, and succeeded by Darius the Median,

* Esther, i. 1.

† Esther, i. 3.

‡ Daniel, vi. 1.

§ See page 87.

about thirty-two years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and forty-three years, therefore, after the captivity of Jechoniah. That part of the reign, therefore, of Ahasuerus, in which he was sovereign over 127 provinces, must have fallen somewhere within the thirty-eight years which elapsed between the forty-third and eighty-first year after the captivity of Jechoniah, that is, according to our chronology, between the years B. C. 566—43=B. C. 523, and 566—81=B. C. 485, which is exactly the interval during which Darius Hystaspis reigned, according to profane chronology.

Secondly. When did the Ahasuerus of the book of Daniel reign?

The prophet Daniel informs us, that in the *first* year of Darius, the *son of Ahasuerus*, “he knew by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem* :” and as Daniel immediately prayed to God that his people might now return to Jerusalem, and cried, “I beseech thee let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city, Jerusalem †,” implying thereby that the seventy years of anger against Jerusalem were about to cease, we must conclude that this first year of Darius, and the last year also of his father Ahasuerus, were coincident with the expiration of Jerusalem’s desolation; that is to say, with the expiration of the eighty-first year from the captivity of Jechoniah, B. C. 486, which was the last of

* Daniel, ix. 1, 2.

† Verse 16.

Darius Hystaspis, and first of the reign of Xerxes. So that the Ahasuerus of Esther and the Ahasuerus of Daniel are the same.

Thirdly. When did the Ahasuerus of the book of Ezra reign?

It will hereafter be shown, in the second part of this work, that Ahasuerus mentioned in the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of the book of Ezra, is the same king with Artaxerxes, or Artashastha, mentioned in the seventh verse; (the one verse being the termination of the Hebrew, and the other the commencement of an extract in Chaldee, from some other history copied by Ezra, the same name being written differently in the two languages, another instance of which occurs in the same extract, *viz.* Asnapper for Esarhaddon*). Now the date of this king is as distinctly marked as that of the Ahasuerus of Daniel, by the date of the second year of his successor Darius. This king, we are told, caused the work of the temple to cease.† “So it ceased till the second year of the reign of Darius, king of Persia.” But this second year of his successor, we are informed by the prophet Zechariah, followed immediately after the expiration of threescore and ten years of indignation against Jerusalem ‡, that is, immediately after the eighty-first year from the captivity of Jechoniah, or B. C. 486: his predecessor, Ahasuerus, therefore was Darius Hystaspis.

* Ezra, iv. 2. 10.

† Ezra, iv. 21.

‡ Zechariah, i. 12.

Thus the three kings, Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, Ahasuerus of the book of Daniel, and Ahasuerus of the book of Ezra, are identified with each other, and, assuming the correctness of our chronology, also with Darius Hystaspis. Let us next consider, whether the events of the reign of Darius correspond with what is related of Ahasuerus. Several very eminent writers, notwithstanding the chronological difficulties of the received system, have been forced to admit this identity, and their words will carry the greater weight, as not liable to the imputation of bias in favour of our chronology, which in fact, however, they support.

Bossuet, in his Discourse on Universal History, speaking of Darius Hystaspis, remarks — “from many indications we are forced to recognise in him the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, though all are not agreed upon this point.” Spanheim, in his Short Introduction to the Old Testament*, observes, “If, indeed, Ahasuerus is to be numbered as one of the Persian monarchs, and is the same with the Ahasuerus in Ezra, iv. 6., undoubtedly he was Darius Hystaspis, rather than Xerxes, or any one else whosoever. He is called here Ahasuerus by the more common appellation, though elsewhere called Darius, as the names Xerxes and Artaxerxes were common to many otherwise called, as observed by learned men on Ezra iv. With this monarch agree more truly than with any other

* Spanheim, p. 75.

Persian monarch the considerations, that Mordecai was still living in his reign, though carried captive with Jechoniah, Esth. ii. 5, 6.: the mention of this king so soon after Cyrus, Ezra, iv. 6.; the reference to his two wives; his power, his wealth, his living at Susa, the duration of his reign," &c. &c.

Archbishop Ussher is also of opinion that Darius Hystaspis was Ahasuerus. He writes thus:—
 "In the seventh year of the reign of Ahasuerus, in the tenth month, Tebeth, Esther being brought to the king, obtained grace and favour in his sight above all the other virgins, Esth. ii. 16, 17. From whence, as we consider Vashti to be Atossa, so we think that Esther was the virgin Artystone, whom Herodotus relates, lib. iii. 88. and lib. vii. 69., that Darius loved above all his other wives, and had an image made of her in solid gold. At the same time we are quite aware that Hadassa, the other name of Esther, approaches to the appellation Atossa, and that Artystone is said by Herodotus to have been the sister of Atossa, and the daughter of Cyrus, whether from his being little acquainted with Persian genealogies, or from the Persians themselves having dissembled her true origin from hatred to the race of which Esther was born." *
 Again, referring to the book of Esther, ch. x.:
 "And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land and upon the *isles of the sea*," or, as it is in the Latin Vulgate, "and king Ahasuerus made tributary all the earth and all the islands of the

* Ussher's Annals, p. 162.

sea:" he observes, "Thucydides in his first book asserts that Darius, by means of the Phœnician fleet, *subdued the islands* (*i. e.* the islands situated in the Ægean sea). It is certain, however, that his son Xerxes (to whom the islands lying between the Cyanean rocks, the Triopium of Cnidus, and the promontory of Sunium in Attica, supplied triremes, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. xi.) immediately after the war with Greece, and before the twelfth year of his reign (after which year Scripture signifies that tribute was laid on the isles by Ahasuerus), *had lost those islands*, and that under his successors there were no islands subject to them, except Clazomene (a small island at that time, as Thucydides says in his eighth book), and Cyprus, as we learn from the terms of the treaty of Antalcidas, in the fifth book of Xenophon's Hellenics; all which is a strong argument in support of the idea that Ahasuerus is no other than that Darius, who, in consequence of his imposition of tribute and such like exactions, Herodotus tells us, was called by the Persians *καπηλον*, merchant, while under Cyrus and Cambyses nothing was established concerning tribute, but the custom was to bring gifts. Herodot. lib. iii. 89." * Ussher also observes, that, according to Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. 3, Darius Hystaspis was formerly called Ochus, which is the same as *אחש*, Acash; and that adding the royal title *וֵרוֹשׁ*, Verosh, he was afterwards called Acash-verosh, or Ahasuerus.

* Ussher's Annals, p. 170.

Nothing, I think, can be required in addition to the observations of these three most learned men to prove the identity of Ahasuerus of the book of Esther with Darius Hystaspis, which so well accords with our chronology; and we have already shown that the Ahasuerus of Daniel and the Ahasuerus of Ezra are both identified with the Ahasuerus of Esther, and therefore with the same Persian king. But if Ahasuerus was Darius Hystaspes, then was Darius the son of Ahasuerus of Daniel, and Darius the successor of Ahasuerus of Ezra, that prince whom the Greeks called Xerxes.

It is no slight confirmation of the correctness of the view we have taken of the position of the reign of Ahasuerus in Scripture history, that it is the same which has been invariably adopted by Jewish chronologists and commentators: unbiassed by heathen chronology, and acute commentators as they are on the text of Scripture, their testimony is invaluable as simple interpreters of the contents of the sacred writings. Where the Bible fails them, it is true that they are grievously at fault in their chronology; and, in the absence of this guide, we know that they have reduced the duration of the Persian monarchy to fifty-two years. This, however, is no argument against the correctness of their interpretation as far as the text of Scripture will carry them, in the exposition of which they are found in general to be faithful commentators. With regard to Ahasuerus and his son Darius, there is but one opinion amongst them. Jarchi, Kimchi, Aben-Ezra, Abarbinel, all agree that it

was the Ahasuerus who made Esther his queen, called also Artaxerxes, who impeded the building of the temple, after the reign of Cyrus, and that Darius, the son of Ahasuerus and Esther, was the prince who resumed the building in the second year of his reign.

The Seder Olam Zuthra, or lesser chronicle of the Jews, runs thus:—"In the first year of Coresh (Cyrus), king of Persia, Zerubbabel went up with the captivity to Jerusalem, and Jeshua, the son of Josedek, was the high priest, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets. Then arose Ahasuerus, and stopped the work of the house of the sanctuary, and attempted to extirpate Israel. The holy and blessed Lord, however, destroyed him and the wicked Haman."* The Chaldee paraphrase of the book of Esther begins thus:—"And in the days of Ahasuerus, this was Ahasuerus in whose days the work of the house of our great God ceased, and was stopped till the second year of Darius." It also speaks of Darius who suffered the building to go on, as the son of Ahasuerus and Esther.†

Abraham Levita, son of David, writes:—"Coresh reigned three years, and in the first year of his reign the Lord stirred up his spirit to build the sanctuary, and after this he delayed it again. And when he had reigned three years, the queen of the Scythians slew him, because he had killed her two sons, who were great kings. After him Ahasuerus reigned sixteen years, and at his death

* Sed. Ol. Zut. p. 23.

† See Walton's Polyglot.

his son born of Esther succeeded him, *viz.* Darius, *who is also called Artaschastha*, in whose second year the house was rebuilt."

David Gantz, in his *Zemach David*, writes—
 "Ahasuerus, the husband of Esther, ruled after Cyrus," &c. &c. "in the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus they wrote an accusation, &c., as it is written in Ezra, ch. iv. 6, and the building of the house of the sanctuary, which had been begun by permission of Cyrus, was interrupted till the second year of Darius," "Darius the Second, son of Ahasuerus, ruled over Persia in the year 3406, and, as it is said in *Uaikra Rabah*, was the son of Queen Esther. The same, also, is written in *Thosiphta*, ch. 1, *Roshasanah*. He was a boy of seven years of age when he began to reign; and, according to the *Seder Olam*, ch. 30, appears to have been the same as Artaxerxes mentioned in *Nehemiah*, ch. ii. and ch. xiii." *

Thus these Jewish commentators all agree that the Ahasuerus of Esther, Daniel, and Ezra, were the same king, reigning after Cyrus, and before the king who suffered the rebuilding of the temple. They all agree, also, that the king who allowed the building to go on was the son of Queen Esther and Ahasuerus (not, therefore, Darius Hystaspis, who usurped the throne), and that he also bore the title of Artaschastha, or Arta-Xerxes. They err, however, in supposing him to be the same with the Artaxerxes of the book of *Nehemiah*, who

* Vorst's Latin translation, p. 54.

was contemporary with Eliashib and Joiada, the high priests, whereas Jeshua was high priest when the temple was rebuilt, and was succeeded by Joiakim.

Lightfoot, in his view of the chronology of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, prefers to follow the Jewish commentators, to the rejection of those who endeavour to make Scripture conform to the heathen views of the chronology of that period. He considers that Ahasuerus, called also Artaxerxes, the husband of Esther, was the king who impeded the building of the temple, and that Darius, her son, called also Artaxerxes, rebuilt it.*

Thus the harmony and consistency produced between the three books of Scripture which we have been considering, by the application to them of our chronology, in place of the extreme confusion which results from the received system; the agreement also thereby produced between Scripture and profane history; and the conformity with the views of the Hebrew commentators on this part of the Bible, who state the very facts which we would establish, together form a powerful confirmation of the correctness of the chronology we propose, and the conclusion derived from it, that Ahasuerus was Darius Hystaspis, Darius his son, Xerxes, and that in the second year of this latter king, B. C. 485, the commandment went forth to rebuild Jerusalem.

* Lightfoot, vol. ii. folio, p. 1164.

CHAP. VII.

CYRUS, THE FATHER OF CAMBYSES, AND SON-IN-LAW OF ASTYAGES, BEGAN TO REIGN IN THE 55TH OLYMPIAD, B.C. 560, AND IS NOT THE CYRUS WHO TOOK BABYLON AND PROCLAIMED LIBERTY TO THE JEWS.

FROM the foregoing chapters we have collected,—

1st. That Jerusalem was rebuilt after the return of the Jews from the captivity at Babylon, in the second year of the reign of a Persian prince, who was called in Scripture Artaxerxes.

2nd. That Jerusalem was rebuilt exactly 100 years after the eclipse of Thales, and, therefore, in the year B. C. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

3rd. That Jerusalem was rebuilt seven weeks and threescore and two weeks, or 483 prophetic years, before the birth of Christ, and, therefore, in the year B. C. 485, or second year of Xerxes.

4th. That the year in which Jerusalem was rebuilt was a year of jubilee, both according to prophecy and tradition : and that the year B. C. 485, or second year of Xerxes, was a year of jubilee.

5th. That the Ahasuerus of the books of Esther, Daniel, and Ezra, is one and the same prince, *viz.* Darius Hystaspis : and that the command to build Jerusalem which went forth in the second year of the successor of Ahasuerus was issued, therefore, in the second year of Xerxes, or in the year B. C. 485.

The second, third, and fourth of these arguments point with such exactness to the very same year, B. C. 485, as that of the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem, that no doubt exists in my own mind of its being the true date of that event. Whether however the prince called Darius in Scripture, in whose second year the command came forth to rebuild, was Darius Hystaspis or his son Xerxes, may still be thought by some a matter of question. Both these kings were undoubtedly together on the throne of Persia in the year B. C. 485. My own conviction is that Xerxes was the prince of whom Ezra speaks. Be this as it may, the date of the rebuilding may be considered established, and we shall next proceed to consider how far it is consistent, or otherwise, with the records of profane history. With this view, we propose to examine the accuracy of some of the principal dates which necessarily flow from the date thus fixed as that of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, some of which are capable of easy comparison with the dates of heathen chronology.

If Jerusalem was rebuilt in the year B. C. 485, then —

1st. The destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which happened seventy years before the rebuilding, took place in the year B. C. 555.

2nd. Since Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabokolassar, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and Laborosoarchod, or Belshazzar, was slain in the thirty-first year from the nineteenth of

Nebuchadnezzar, Babylon was taken for the first time by Cyrus in the year B. c. 524.

3rd. Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares, who "took the kingdom" about one year after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, who spent some time in settling the affairs of the new kingdom, before he delivered it to Cyaxares, began to reign in the year B. c. 523.

4th. Babylon was taken a second time by Cyrus, and Nabonadius driven from the throne, in the seventeenth year after the death of Laborosoarchod, or Belshazzar, B. c. 508.

5th. The first year of Cyrus mentioned in the book of Ezra, when he issued his proclamation that the temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and when "the Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth," was the sixty-eighth year counted from the first captivity of Judah during the reign of Jehoiakim, and the year B. c. 507.

6th. The ten tribes of Israel were carried captive from Samaria by Shalmanezar 134 years and some months before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the year B. c. 690.

These dates are so linked together and dependent on each other, that no one of them can be materially altered without affecting the whole series. They must all either stand or fall together. If any one of them therefore can be shown to accord with the records of heathen history, it will fix the relation of the whole chain to heathen chronology. Now the leading event about this period mentioned both in sacred and profane history, is the capture by the Medes and Persians of the great city of Babylon,

at this time the wonder of the world : and I shall presently show that there are traces of a system of chronology which had been entertained at least as early as the beginning of the third century after Christ, in which the year of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus was placed in the year B. c. 508, where we have found that it ought to be placed by deduction from Scripture and Berosus. I shall also further show, that there were Jewish chronologists who wrote in the third century before Christ, who placed the time of the carrying off of the ten tribes from Samaria in the year B. c. 690, and the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the year B. c. 555, the precise years in which we have placed those events.

Now the conclusion that Babylon was taken by Cyrus in the year B. c. 508 is clearly incompatible with the reckoning derived from profane history, which places Cyrus on the throne in the fifty-fifth Olympiad or B. c. 560, and his death in the year B. c. 530. Before we proceed, therefore, to verify this date, let us examine the ground upon which the received chronology of the reign of Cyrus now stands.

Let no one be surprised that the chronology of the time of Cyrus should be called in question in these days. If Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ctesias, who each visited Persia within a century after the death of Cyrus, and there made careful inquiries concerning his history, were unable to agree either as to his parentage, the time of his accession to the throne, or the nature of his death, surely it would be unreasonable to suppose that we can have arrived at

any greater certainty now, unless it can be shown that fresh materials have been brought to bear upon the question. We have reason to believe that no greater certainty was entertained on the subject, in the first century after Christ, than in the time of Herodotus. For Plutarch in his life of Solon, who was contemporary with Cyrus and with Cræsus, speaks of the story of Solon's interview with Cræsus being disputed on chronological grounds, and observes, "I cannot prevail with myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty." If thousands were correcting the chronology of the times of Cyrus in the days of Plutarch without success, we clearly are at liberty to call in question the certainty of that chronology in these days. At the same time it would be presumptuous to suppose that with merely the same historical materials before us any thing fixed or decided can now be ascertained. All we can say is, that the histories of those times, as at present understood, are irreconcilable both with Scripture and with each other. And all we propose to do is, to examine the evidence of those histories, and to consider, whether they bear out the generally received notion, or whether in fact they are not more in conformity with the deductions we have made from the evidence of Scripture.

On examining the several histories of Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon, with regard to the reign of Cyrus, there is an obvious discrepancy of cha-

racter as well as chronology between the narratives of the different writers, which at first sight leads us to doubt the identity of the princes they describe. Can it be true, that the prince described by Herodotus, whose childish anger was so roused at the loss of one of his sacred horses in the river Gyndes, that he wreaked his vengeance on the river by cutting it into 360 channels, who in his old age made proposals of marriage to Queen Tomyris, and then suffered himself to be drawn into an ambush by the same queen, where he perished, is the same prince who was chosen by Xenophon as the most skilful general, the most mild, generous, and prudent monarch, and the model for the imitation of princes; and who, according to Cicero, had such control over his temper, as never to have used a harsh expression towards any one after he came to the plenitude of his power? How is it that Herodotus and Ctesias distinctly inform us that Cyrus died in battle, while Xenophon, and all modern Persian historians, say that he died in peace? That Ctesias collected from the royal records that he married Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, while Herodotus and Xenophon agree in making him the grandson of Astyages by his daughter Mandane, if they are describing the same individual? The Cyrus of Herodotus, moreover, ruled over Asia, after the subversion of the empire of the Medes, and after that is said to have taken Babylon; while we are certain from Scripture that when Babylon was taken, the Medes were still predominant, and that Cyrus did not come to the

throne till after Darius the Mede, and some time after the capture of Babylon. But when, in the midst of these inconsistencies, we find Herodotus himself incidentally informing us that the grandfather of Cyrus, that is, the father of Cambyses, was also called Cyrus, the idea is irresistibly forced upon us, that two different princes are spoken of by the different historians, and that the actions of one have been blended with those of the other, thereby producing the confusion we have pointed out. And this is an error not at all improbable for a foreigner to have committed in a country then so little advanced in literature as Persia.*

With this leading idea in our minds, we propose to examine the several histories of the reign of Cyrus, as if they were now laid before us for the first time, beginning with Herodotus.

Now, Herodotus himself confesses, that even in his days he could collect nothing certain on the subject of the reign of Cyrus. He tells us that he had seen three other accounts besides that which he relates, and of his own he says no more than that it was that which appeared to him the most probable, and warns us that he does not attach any great weight to it. We could wish that he had recorded the three other traditions concerning the great Persian monarch which had been related to him, that we might have judged for ourselves,

* A notable instance of the same sort of error has occurred, even in these days of accurate information, in the blending together by foreigners of the acts of the two William Pitts, Lord Chatham and his son.

which was the most probable; and no doubt we should have collected from them something more in accordance with Scripture than what he relates.

1. "It is now necessary," says Herodotus, "for us to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Cræsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians who seem more influenced by a regard to truth than any partiality to Cyrus, not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives of this monarch." * He then relates how Cyrus was born of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, King of Media, who was married to Cambyses, a Persian, and how, by order of Astyages, he was delivered to a shepherd, by the hands of Harpagus, to be exposed in a desert. The shepherd, in presenting the child to his wife, is related to have said, (and here I conceive Herodotus is quoting from some written narrative before him), "He, Harpagus, informed me that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses, *son of Cyrus*; this is the infant whose death Astyages commands." † The child was preserved, however, by the shepherd, and afterwards restored to his parents, by whom he was educated in Persia, and when arrived at manhood was invited by Harpagus to lead the Persians in revolt against the Medes. Cyrus, accordingly, whose influence over the Persians is not very clearly explained by Herodotus, leads an army of

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 95.

† Id. l. i. c. 111.

Persians against Astyages, and subdues him in battle, after Astyages had reigned thirty-five years. Astyages is kindly treated by his conqueror, who, however, takes his throne. Herodotus adds,—
“Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as we have before related, subdued Cræsus, who had attacked him unprovoked, *from which time he remained, without competition, sovereign of Asia.*” *

After taking Sardis, Cyrus appointed Harpagus to the command of part of his army, who invaded Lower Asia, and subdued the Ionians, Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. Cyrus himself conducted at the same time an army against Upper Asia; “and having reduced the whole of the continent, commenced his march against the Assyrians.” † Labynetus, son of Queen Nitocris, and of that Labynetus who lived at the time of the eclipse predicted by Thales ‡, was now reigning in Babylon, and against him Cyrus conducted his army. Cyrus, however, lost a year in cutting the river Gyndes, and afterwards began the siege of Babylon, which, after much time consumed in the siege, was at length taken by turning the river, and marching his army through it into the city.

After the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus delivered the throne to Cambyses, crossed the Araxes, and attacked the Massagetæ. He was conquered by Queen Tomyris, and slain in battle, after reigning

* Herodotus, l. i. 130.

† Id. l. i. c. 177.

‡ Id. l. i. 174.

twenty-nine years. Herodotus concludes his narrative in these words: "This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent with probability, although there are many other and different relations." *

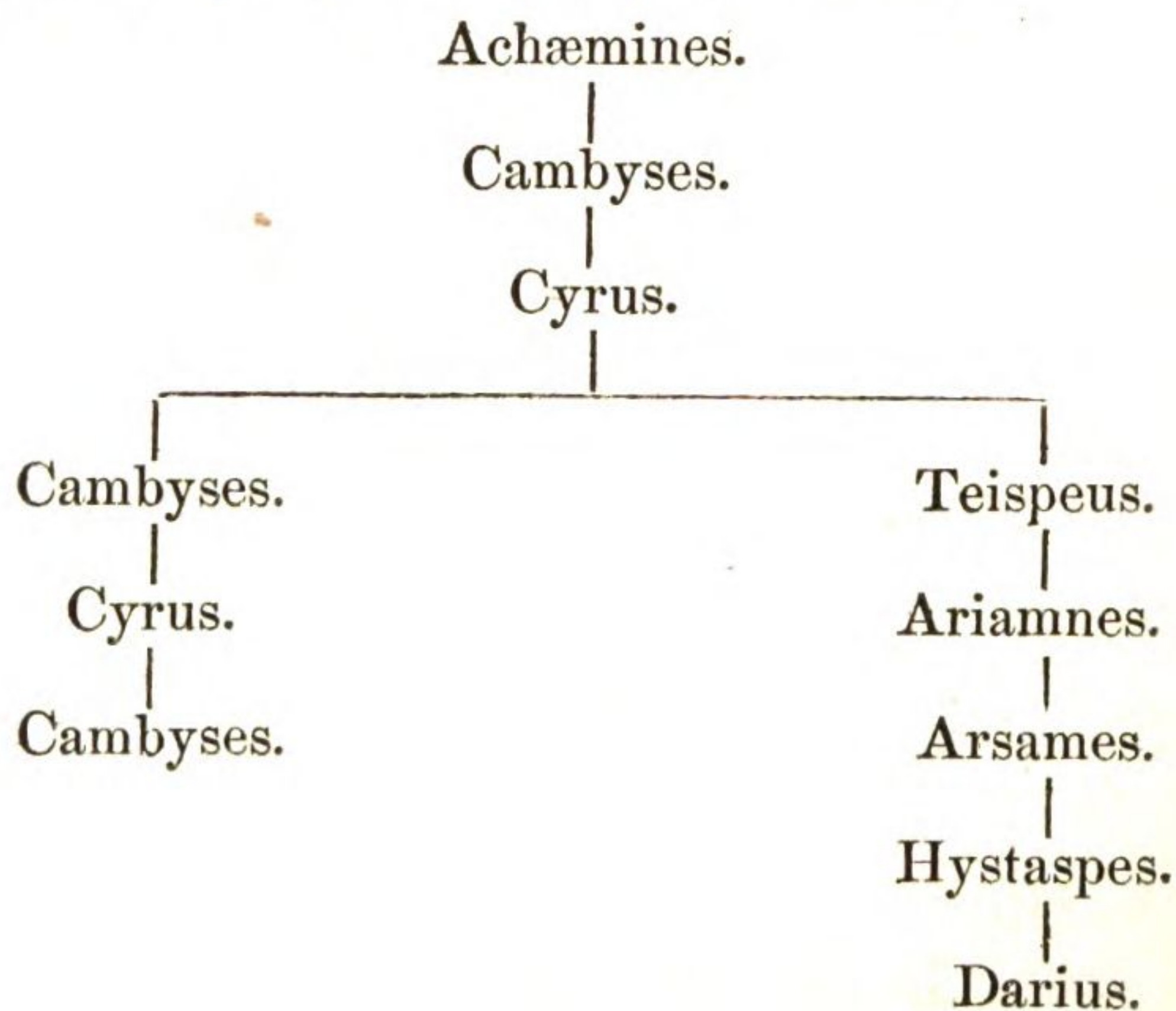
Thus, according to Herodotus, we read of two princes (for both were descended from Achæmines) of the name of Cyrus, and two of the name of Cambyses.†

1. Cyrus, father of Cambyses.
2. Cambyses, his son, who married Mandane, daughter of Astyages.
3. Cyrus, the son of Cambyses and Mandane.
4. Cambyses, son of Cyrus.

The principal features of the narrative are, that the Cyrus he speaks of was son of Cambyses and Mandane, that he conquered Astyages, that he

* Herodotus, l. i. 204.

† Gale in his notes to Herodotus, l. i. 209. gives the following pedigree of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius:—



took Sardis, upon which Herodotus supposes his reign to have begun over Asia; that he took Babylon, and died in battle, after reigning *twenty-nine years*.

2. Xenophon wrote about fifty years after Herodotus, and was, no doubt, well acquainted with his history. He had accompanied the Persian army to Babylon with the younger Cyrus, against his brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and collected, no doubt, the most approved version of the reign of the great Cyrus from the Persians, with whom he conversed, for he professes in his preface to write from careful inquiry and accurate information. He differs in some important particulars from Herodotus, which, we may presume, that he would not have ventured to do, except upon sufficient grounds.

Xenophon tells us that the Cyrus of whom he writes was son of Cambyses, and of Mandane daughter of Astyages.

He says nothing of his having conquered Astyages, and leaves us in ignorance how Astyages died, but tells us it was before Cyrus came to the throne.

Astyages, he relates, was succeeded on the throne by his son Cyaxares, a prince not mentioned by Herodotus, who, on being threatened with invasion by Cræsus, calls in the assistance of his nephew Cyrus with a Persian army, Cyrus being then about twenty-five years of age.

Cyaxares and Cyrus proceed against Cræsus. Cræsus is conquered by Cyrus. Babylon is besieged. The King of Babylon is slain. And after

further siege, the city is taken by Cyrus during a midnight feast, the waters of the Euphrates having been turned, and the army marched through the river. Cyrus then delivers Babylon into the hands of Cyaxares as the lawful king: visits his father Cambyses, *then ruling in Persia*: marries the daughter of Cyaxares, and with her receives the kingdom of Media as her dowry, he himself being made satrap of that province, *and does not come to the throne till after the death (as we infer) of Cambyses*. Cyrus, on his death-bed, declares his son Cambyses his successor on the throne, and gives some of the provinces to his younger son Tanaaxares, but dies in peace, not in battle, *having reigned seven years*.

Now the whole of this history is irreconcilable with that of the Cyrus who is described by Herodotus.

3. We have next to examine the account delivered to us by Ctesias, who was contemporary with Xenophon, and physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, King of Persia. The work of Ctesias is lost, but Photius has preserved to us all that we could wish of the contents of his history as regards the kings of Persia, and, moreover, has pointed out particularly how he differs from Herodotus in his account of Cyrus and his immediate successors. We are informed by Diodorus Siculus *, that, while at the court of Persia, Ctesias took the opportunity of examining the royal records of the history of

* Diod. Sic. l. ii. 32.

that kingdom, which, by law, were ordered to be preserved ; and that such records were in existence some time before he wrote, is confirmed by the book of Esther, from which we learn that King Ahasuerus, on a certain occasion, “ commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles, and they were read before the king.” * This historian had, therefore, great advantages over both Herodotus and Xenophon, in ascertaining the truth, and coming after Herodotus, the popularity of whose history must have been well known to him, he could hardly be disposed to contradict him, except upon the most certain authority.

Now Ctesias begins by stating, that *there was no affinity whatever between Astyages, King of Media, and the Cyrus of whom he writes* ; that Cyrus invaded the kingdom of Media, upon which Astyages fled to Ecbatana, where he soon after fell into the hands of his conqueror ; and that Astyages was well treated by Cyrus, who in course of time married his daughter Amytis. So that the Cyrus of Ctesias was *the son-in-law*, and not the grandson of this king. He must have lived, also, one or two generations earlier than the Cyrus of Herodotus. Cyrus, he informs us, then made war upon the Bactrians, who submitted to him on learning that he had married the daughter of the sovereign they acknowledged. His next act was to make war upon the Sacæ, whose king, Amorges, he took prisoner. The wife of Amorges, however.

* Esther, vi. 1.

having raised an army against him, and having gained a victory in which Parmises, the brother of Amytis, was captured, an exchange of prisoners took place, and Amorges was restored to his throne.

With the assistance of Amorges, Cyrus then made war upon Cræsus, took the great city of Sardis, and carried Cræsus captive into Media, where he made him governor of the city Barene, near Ecbatana. Astyages was after this murdered on a journey by Petasacas, not, however, with the connivance of Cyrus. And, lastly, Cyrus having made war against the Derbices, received a wound from the arrow of an Indian, of which he died on the third day, after first appointing his son Cambyses his successor, and his younger son, Tanaoxarches, ruler over Bactria, &c. &c., having reigned *thirty years*. Here, adds Photius, the eleventh book of Ctesias the Cnidian ends.

This history purposes to be a very particular account of the principal acts of the reign of Cyrus, taken from the most authentic source, the public annals of Persia; and yet we observe an omission of the most remarkable and important act which is universally attributed to this king, viz. the capture of Babylon. If the capture of the mighty city of Babylon was recorded in those annals, it is difficult to comprehend how an historian, sitting down to correct the errors of Herodotus with regard to the reign of Cyrus, could have inadvertently passed over such an important event. It is still less conceivable how the public scribe of Persia should

have omitted to record the event, if it were really a fact that Cyrus, lately a sovereign merely of one of the dependent provinces of the Median empire, had overthrown the most mighty city then in the world. The omission from the narrative of Ctesias of the capture of Babylon as one of the acts of Cyrus, appears to me, therefore, to afford the solution of all difficulties in reconciling sacred and profane history at this point; for the inevitable conclusion is, that the Cyrus, King of Persia, who conquered Astyages and Cræsus, was not the Cyrus who took Babylon, and proclaimed liberty to the captive Jews, and that two kings bearing this title must have reigned over Persia.

In this view, Plutarch was correct in confirming the tradition of the interview between Solon and Cræsus, considering that Cræsus was contemporary with the Cyrus of Ctesias. And yet those chronologists were also correct, who denied the possibility of that interview on chronological grounds, supposing them to have grounded their denial upon the current notion that Cræsus was contemporary with the Cyrus of Herodotus, and Xenophon, who took Babylon.

I trust that there is nothing hasty in this conclusion, drawn from Ctesias, that the Cyrus who conquered Cræsus was not the Cyrus who conquered Babylon. If the narratives of the three historians were now laid open to us for the first time, and our minds brought to the consideration of them, free from the bias which all have imbibed in their youth in favour of Herodotus, should we

think it reasonable, I ask, to reject the history which professes to be founded on the written records of the nation of which it treats, and to adopt that against which we are warned by the author himself that he is unable to vouch for its truth? Clearly not. The evidence compels us to prefer Ctesias to Herodotus; and we are confirmed in the preference when we take into consideration the air of romance and fiction which pervades the history of Herodotus, as compared with the sober relation of mere facts, which constitutes the narrative of Ctesias.*

With Xenophon, however, the case is different. Xenophon throws no doubt himself upon what he has written, but, on the contrary, states in his preface that he records what he had collected concerning Cyrus after careful inquiry and accurate information. He is, moreover, so strikingly confirmed in parts by what we read in Scripture, that it is impossible to deny his testimony. Xenophon appears to have given a true and connected history of Cyrus, the son of Mandane and Cambyses, a spirited and noble-minded prince, who, before he came to the throne, was placed at the head of the armies of his uncle, the King of Media, and after the conquest of Babylon, as his general, became subordinate king of the province of Media, while *his father Cambyses was still*

* Ctesias is charged with inaccuracy, as regards the affairs of Assyria. He may have been as ill-informed regarding Assyria, as he was well-informed regarding Persia. For the records of Persia only were before him.

on the throne of Persia. It does not appear from Xenophon that this Cyrus ever became ruler of the province of Persia proper, but when he came to the throne of the empire (as we may infer after the death of his uncle Cyaxares) we are told that he divided the year between the three great provinces of Babylon, Persia, and Media, living seven months at Babylon, three months at Susa, and two months at Ecbatana. We collect, also, that when an old man he visited Persia only for the seventh time since he came into possession of the empire (ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς), and soon after died; so that this Cyrus would appear, according to Xenophon, to have reigned not more than seven years, and to have spent not more than twenty-one months in Persia during his reign. The Babylonish account makes his reign to have lasted nine years, which is, probably, more correct; for Babylon was properly the seat of his empire. Cyrus, son of Mandane, was therefore, in fact, little known to the Persians, and had no place in the particular records of that country; for though he visited Persia every year as "great king," and delighted in Pasargadæ, where he provided himself a tomb, the proper sovereign of Persia was at that time Darius Hystaspes: and this accounts for the omission by Ctesias of all mention of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, an event which undoubtedly happened, as we know from the Babylonish historian, Berosus; for Cyrus, father of Cambyzes, who was king of Persia, did not conquer Babylon, and Cyrus, son of Cambyzes, having never ruled in Persia, his acts would not

appear in the annals of that country. With two exceptions, I take the whole of Xenophon's history to be correct. The conquest of Cræsus*, which he attributes to Cyrus, son of Mandane, was the act of the first Cyrus. Cambyses and Tanaoxares are the same as Cambyses and Tanaoxarches, who were sons, not of Cyrus son of Mandane, but of Cyrus son-in-law of Astyages. The whole narrative of Ctesias, also, I assume to be copied from the Persian chronicles, and therefore correct. The two historians have given true histories of two different kings, one of whom reigned thirty years, the other not more than nine.

With regard to Herodotus, who, amidst the confusion of four different accounts, evidently was anxious to record the truth, but conscious that he had not attained it, we have a record of facts, not far from the truth, relating to two different kings, combined together in the history of one Cyrus, though Herodotus himself has incidentally informed us that there were two of that title. Ctesias wrote concerning the first, who was contemporary

* Xenophon, who was under the impression that only one Cyrus ever reigned, seems to have been perplexed by the confusion of the acts of two different kings. He rejects the tradition that Cyrus conquered Astyages, which was undoubtedly true, because it was incompatible with the age of the prince of whom he wrote. He had heard also that Cyrus was said to have married the sister of Cyaxares, or daughter of Astyages, which was true; but this also he is compelled to reject. The conquest of Cræsus was too substantially confirmed to be rejected. He has therefore woven this event into the reign of the second Cyrus.

with Astyages, and not related to him except by marriage. Xenophon wrote of the second, who reigned long after the death of Astyages, and was his grandson; that is to say, of one who lived two generations later. On the supposition that but one Cyrus reigned in Persia, the three Grecian historians are at variance with Scripture and Berossus, as well as with each other. On the supposition that two of that title reigned, Ctesias, Xenophon, Berossus, and Scripture, are in harmony with each other; and Herodotus, with his own free consent, is alone set aside.

We now proceed to show how completely the view we have adopted is borne out and confirmed by the chronological records of the times. The reign of Cyrus has always been considered an important period in ancient chronology; and it is in this reign that the point of junction between sacred and profane history has hitherto been placed. Through the sacred Scriptures we trace downwards to the proclamation issued in the first year of the reign of Cyrus, mentioned by Ezra, and through heathen writers we trace upwards to the first year of Cyrus, which, by Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient authorities, is placed in the year B. c. 560. In the days of Eusebius and his followers, therefore, the termination of the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, which is usually placed in the first of Cyrus, was fixed to the year B. c. 560: thus throwing all scriptural dates before that period, more than fifty years higher than what we conceive to be the truth, and producing, thereby, great con-

fusion in the connection of sacred and profane history. Modern chronologists, for instance, Scaliger, Petavius, and their followers, still retaining the year B. C. 560 as the first year of the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia, or Media, have observed that his first year as subordinate king of one of the provinces is not the first year spoken of by Ezra, which dates from the time when he became ruler over "all the kingdoms of the earth:" and they have thus brought down the date of the scriptural first of Cyrus, and the termination of the Jews' Captivity, some as low as the year B. C. 536, others to B. C. 538. This arrangement has been the means of avoiding many difficulties, and, moreover, is in conformity with Ptolemy's canon of the kings of Babylon, as usually received. Nevertheless, the chronology of the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, are left full of obscurity and difficulty, as we have shown, under this arrangement, and the important prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, though handled by the most powerful writers, has confessedly remained unexplained to this day. If Cyrus, son-in-law of Astyages, was a different prince from him who is described as the grandson of Astyages, these difficulties will immediately vanish.

I. Concerning the Date of the Commencement of the Reign of Cyrus, Son-in-Law of Astyages.

"Nothing," says Petavius, "is more firmly fixed and established by the consent of all chronologists,

ancient and modern, than the first year of Cyrus, as far as regards the Olympiad; for the ancients, without exception, have delivered to us that Cyrus began to reign in Persia in the beginning of the fifty-fifth Olympiad (B. C. 560), that is in the first year of the Olympiad, when the contest itself took place. The exact agreement upon this point of all the most accurate writers, is testified by Africanus, commenting upon Eusebius, lib. x. *De Præpar.* thus: 'After the Seventy Years' Captivity Cyrus began to reign in Persia, in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympiad was celebrated, as we find in the books of Diodorus, the histories of Thallus and Castor, as well as Polybius and Phlegon, and also other authors, who treat of the Olympiads. All agree as to the date. Cyrus, therefore, in the first year of his reign, which was the first of the fifty-fifth Olympiad,' &c. &c." *Petav. l. x. cap. 15. De Doctrina Temporum.* He then observes that the years of Darius Hystaspes and Cambyses are clearly fixed by certain eclipses, and, adding the thirty years of Cyrus and eight years of Cambyses to the date of the first of Darius, B. C. 522, he brings us to the year of the Julian period $4154 = \text{B. C. } 560$.

Scaliger quotes the same passage from Africanus, and adds that Agathias states that the Persian empire, from the time of Cyrus, lasted 228 years; and if we add 228 to B. C. 332, the year of the conquest of Darius by Alexander; we have B. C. 560 for the first of Cyrus. *

* *De Emend. Temp. p. 401.*

Dr. Hales, in explaining the plan of his work, writes — “The leading elementary date, by reference to which the whole range of sacred and profane chronology has been adjusted, is the birth of Cyrus, B. c. 599, which led to his accession to the throne of Persia, B. c. 559.” *

In addition to the passage quoted from Africanus, and the authority of Agathias, Hales quotes a passage from Cicero, *De Divin.* l. i 23, where it is stated on the authority of Dino, a Persian writer, that Cyrus lived till his seventieth year, and began to reign when he was forty years of age; and adds: “The year of his death, B. c. 529, is ascertained by a lunar eclipse in the seventh year of Cambyses, B. c. 523. This determines the birth of Cyrus, 599.” †

It must be admitted that this mode of determining the date of the first year of the reign of Cyrus is most legitimate and precise, whether we follow the authority of Herodotus or Ctesias. We cannot alter the chronology of the reign of Cambyses, which is fixed by an eclipse in his seventh year, viz. in July B. c. 523, and either twenty-nine years, according to Herodotus, or thirty years, according to Ctesias, added to the first year of Cambyses, equally bring us to the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad=B. c. 560—559.

But if Cyrus began to reign in the year B. c. 560, and reigned thirty years, his death must have happened in the year B. c. 530. From the Persian

* Hale's Chronology, vol. i. p. 269.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 90.

annals, also, we learn, through Ctesias, that towards the end of his reign he conquered Cræsus, king of Lydia, after which Astyages, king of Media, was put to death, and then Cyrus himself soon after died; so that if the account of Ctesias is true, these three events should be found following close in succession, one upon the other, a few years before the year B. c. 530. Now the chronology of the kings of Lydia, and of the kings of Media, according to our view, will be found in perfect harmony with the Persian annals, and much at variance with the deductions usually drawn from the history of Herodotus. The current chronology places

The capture of Sardis and deposition of Cræsus in the year B. c. 547.

The end of the reign of Astyages in B. c. 560.

The death of Cyrus in B. c. 530.

We propose to show that the true dates of the two first of these events were —

Capture of Sardis, B. c. 535.

Death of Astyages, B. c. 534.

The Date of the Capture of Sardis.

Clemens Alexandrinus, quoting Euphorion, informs us that Gyges king of Lydia began to reign in the eighteenth Olympiad = B. c. 708—705.* Let us place the first year of Gyges in the year B. c. 705, being the last of that Olympiad, and assign

* Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 327.

to each king the length of reign recorded by Herodotus, thus:—

Gyges reigned	38	years,	beginning	B. c.	705–4.
Ardys	49	-	-		666.
Sadyattes	12	-	-		617.
Alyattes	57	-	-		605.
Cræsus	14	-	-		548.
170.					

Now if we subtract 170 years from the year B. c. 705, we come to the year B. c. 535 for the fourteenth year of Cræsus, in which year Sardis must have been taken and Cræsus deposed.

Again Pliny informs us that Candaules, who preceded Gyges, died in the eighteenth Olympiad, thus confirming Euphorion as to the commencement of the reign of Gyges, and bringing us, therefore, to the same date, B. c. 535.

The Parian chronicle, composed about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and a far more ancient authority, therefore, than either Clemens or Pliny, confirms the above dates, by stating that Alyattes began to reign in the year B. c. 605. Now, if we deduct the length of the reigns of Alyattes and Cræsus, together seventy-one years, from B. c. 605, we come again to the year B. c. 535, for the capture of Sardis and fall of Cræsus in his fourteenth year. This valuable chronicle once contained in line forty-three the very date we seek, viz. when “Cyrus king of the Persians took Sardis,” &c. The figures which mark the date were, however, wholly ob-

literated when Selden examined the marble. Nevertheless sufficient is left of the inscription to lead us probably to within a few years of the date which had been inserted: for these words still remain. "At this time" — "Hipponax the Iambic poet." Now Pliny observes*, "it is certain that Hipponax lived in the sixtieth Olympiad = B. C. 540—537, and no doubt he was attendant at the court of Cræsus, from his name being mentioned in the chronicle in connection with the fall of Cræsus. The obliterated date, therefore, of the capture of Sardis, probably was not earlier than the sixtieth Olympiad; and, to produce consistency with the date in line thirty-six, which gives the first year of the reign of Alyattes, it should be B. C. 534, or the third year of the sixty-first Olympiad.†

* Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 5.

† If the figures in line 43 of the chronicle are thus supplied, $270 = \text{B. C. } 534$, the supposed contents of line 42 must also be slightly varied to agree with them. The marble is here mutilated, and part only of the date remains, thus, as copied by Selden — $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{II.}$ which is filled up by the help of the preceding date, thus $[\text{HH}\overline{\Delta}]\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{II.} = 292$. The number, however, should be 282 to be consistent with the following date in line 43. I suggest, therefore, that the Δ nearest the part obliterated, and which itself was probably nearly illegible, should be read — $\overline{\Delta}\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{II.} = 82$, which, with the addition of HH, would make 282. The passage would then run thus: "Since Cræsus s[ent ambassadors out] of Asia [to] Delph[i cc]LXXXII. [years Euthy]demus being Archon at Athens." Reckoning 282 years before B. C. 264, the fixed radix of the chronicle, we come to the year B. C. 546, as that in which Cræsus sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. And if we may conjecture that Cræsus consulted the oracle for the first time in the third

This direct testimony of the Parian chronicle to the fact, that the reign of Alyattes commenced in B. C. 605, is thus treated by Dr. Hales, under the head "corrections of the chronicle." "Epoch thirty-six, B. C. 605, cannot be understood," he observes, "of the first year of the reign of Alyattes, which began B. C. 619. It probably refers to the time of his war with Cyaxares king of Media, which was put an end to by the celebrated eclipse of Thales two years after, B. C. 603." *

What must we think of such handling of this decided testimony of the Parian chronicle? Dr. Hales first conjectures, in direct opposition to the uncontradicted authority of Pliny, Cicero, and Solinus, that the eclipse of Thales happened in the

year of his reign, B. C. 546, then would he have ceased to reign in B. C. 546—11=B. C. 535. The slight alteration here suggested of Selden's reading of the chronicle in this place is not unreasonable, considering that without it the chronicle is inconsistent with Herodotus as regards the length of the two reigns of Alyattes and Cræsus: and Dr. Bentley has observed, "I suppose it is plain enough already from the epoch about Susarion, that Mr. Selden was not over accurate in copying the inscription."—(Dissert. on the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 238.) Palmerius also, in commenting on the chronicle, seems to have considered some alteration of this reading necessary, though it is strange that he has omitted to give his reasons. In commenting on line 41, he says, "In this line of the four numbers $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$, one must be struck out, *as appears from the following number, so that the number should be 287, not 297, as it is written.*" But, if in line 41, the number should be 287, in line 42, the number must be less than 287, yet Palmerius writes the following number 292 instead of 282, forgetting his correction of the preceding line by this.

* Hales' Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 134.

year B. c. 603, instead of B. c. 585 ; and then, without offering any reason for his conjecture, thinks it probable, in opposition to the general tenor of the chronicle, that the writer of the chronicle here intended to mark particularly the fourth year of the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares, (for the war ended in the sixth year with the eclipse,) though nothing whatever remarkable is recorded as having happened in this fourth year. Thus, again, rejecting direct evidence in order to produce consistency with his conjectural date for the eclipse. Surely we are justified in suspecting unsoundness in a system supported by such conjectures.

On the other hand, I affirm that we have the best historical evidence for fixing the first year of Gyges, and the first year of Alyattes, at the dates above mentioned ; and I shall now add a further testimony to the correctness of those dates, and of the whole series, by showing that Cræsus began to reign in the year B. c. 548.

Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Periander, informs us that Periander died during the reign of Alyattes king of Lydia, and confirms his statement thus : “ Sosicrates asserts that he died forty-one years before Cræsus, before the forty-ninth Olympiad.” The expression “ before the forty-ninth Olympiad ” may be taken either definitely or indefinitely. If we read it in a definite sense, that is, as recording that Periander died shortly before the celebration of the forty-ninth Olympiad, say in B. c. 586, then would the forty-first year from that date tally with the year noted in the Parian chronicle as that in

which Cræsus first consulted the oracle at Delphi, viz. B. C. 546, which was in his third year. If we read it as signifying that he died somewhere in the forty-eighth Olympiad, say in B. C. 588, then the forty-first year from thence is the year B. C. 548, the exact year in which we have found that he came to the throne. But if Cræsus came to the throne in B. C. 548, or consulted the oracle in his third year (in B. C. 546), then must Sardis have been taken by Cyrus in the year B. C. 535, in his fourteenth year.

The striking conformity between these several authorities, viz. Euphorion, Pliny, the Parian chronicle, Diogenes Laertius, and Ctesias, with regard to the time of the conquest of Cræsus, and the reigns of the kings of Lydia, is highly confirmatory of the correctness of our view of the chronology, though at the same time there are other authorities*, which place the conquest of Cræsus both higher and lower. I appeal to the general harmony of the authorities I have quoted with the contents of Scripture as the best test of their truth.

This date, viz. B. C. 535, for the conquest of Cræsus, is also more consistent with the chronology of the reign of Pisistratus, who, we learn from Herodotus †, had just obtained possession of the tyranny for the third time, when Cræsus sent to Athens to seek for an alliance against Cyrus. From the Parian chronicle we learn that Pisistratus became tyrant at Athens in B. C. 561–560. Let us

* See Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, Append. vol. ii. p. 712.

† *Lib. i. c. 64, 65.*

follow the reckoning of Mr. Clinton*, who, after examining all the authorities, thus calculates the periods of exile and tyranny of Pisistratus: —

Year.		Year.	B. C.
1.	Pisistratus usurps the tyranny	6	560.
	Birth of Hippias	-	560.
7.	First exile	6	554.
13.	Second tyranny	1	548.
14.	Second exile	10	547.
24.	Third tyranny	10	537.

By this reckoning Pisistratus became tyrant for the third time about the year B. C. 537, immediately upon which Cræsus applied to him for succour; and, as it is reasonable to suppose that Cræsus sent to Athens about two years before the fall of Sardis, we may place the capture of that city from this reckoning also in B. C. 535. The argument turns upon the time of the mission of Cræsus to Athens, whether during the first, second, or third tyranny. According to the received chronology, it was during either the first or second. I affirm that it is a perversion of the words of Herodotus to place it any where but in the third.

I have been the more particular in fixing this date of the capture of Sardis; because some have supposed that Herodotus counted the years of the reign of Cyrus from that event, and with much ground for their opinion. Those, therefore, who may be unwilling to adopt the suggestion, (if in-

* Fast. Hell. vol. ii. p. 181.

deed it is no more than a suggestion), that two different princes of the name of Cyrus are described respectively by Ctesias and Xenophon, and that Herodotus has confounded the two together, may yet adhere to Herodotus, and, by placing the first year of his reign in the year following that of the capture of Sardis, the thirty years' reign of Cyrus will fall between the years B. c. 534 and B. c. 504, thereby producing a certain degree of consistency between Scripture and Herodotus. In this view, however, the authority of Ctesias must entirely be set aside ; and how to account for the reign of Cambyses, which began (as fixed by an eclipse) in the year B. c. 530, and succeeded that of Cyrus, would remain a great difficulty. Let us now proceed to fix

The Date of the Death of Astyages.

We are informed by Herodotus,
that Deioces reigned 53 years.

Phraortes	22
Cyaxares	40
Astyages	35

He also informs us, that Phraortes, after he had conquered the Persians and reduced them under the dominion of the Medes, overran Asia, and at length proceeded to attack the Assyrians who inhabited Nineveh, and that in the twenty-second year of his reign he perished with the greatest part of his army in an excursion against the Assyrians. Herodotus mentions as a peculiar feature of the

time at which this happened, that though the Assyrians hitherto had been the most powerful people in Asia, at this period their allies had separated from them.* Now it has often been pointed out that this Phraortes must be the same king who is spoken of in the book of Judith, where he is called Arphaxad, against whom Nebuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineveh, "marched in battle array, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and smote him in the mountains of Ragau," at a time when "all the inhabitants of the land made light of the commandment of Nebuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle."† This Nebuchodonosor, as will be shown hereafter, is the same king as Nabopalassar of the canon of Ptolemy and Berosus, whose fifth year is marked by an eclipse, which, according to Ptolemy, happened in the year B. c. 621. But if the fifth year of Nebuchodonosor fell in the year B. c. 621, his seventeenth year, which coincided with the last year of the reign of Phraortes, must have fallen in the year B. c. 609. Since, therefore, Cyaxares reigned forty years after the death of Phraortes, and Astyages thirty-five years after Cyaxares, the last year of Astyages must have fallen in the year B. c. 534, the very year which followed the capture of Sardis, and a few years only before the death of Cyrus, as we have before collected from Ctesias. Here, again, is a very remarkable correspondence between Scripture (if we may so call the Book of Judith) and profane

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 102.

† Judith, i. 11—15.

history, even to a single year, resulting from our chronology. Those who place the last year of Astyages in the year B. c. 560, and his first year, therefore, in B. c. 595, are compelled to set aside the historical date of the eclipse of Thales, which we know took place in the reign of his predecessor Cyaxares, and also to suppose that the predecessor of Nabopalassar was also called Nebuchodonosor, thereby making three princes with that title, though there is no other ground for supposing that there were more than two.*

Thus then we have collected,

1st. That Cyrus the father of Cambyses, and son-in-law of Astyages, came to the throne in the 55th Olympiad, in the year B. c. 560, and terminated his reign in the year B. c. 530.

2nd. That Sardis was taken in the year B. c. 535, five years before the death of Cyrus, which confirms the account given by Ctesias.

3rd. That Astyages concluded his reign of 35 years in the year B. c. 534, four years before the death of Cyrus, which also agrees with Ctesias.

4th. That it is contrary to the evidence of Ctesias and Xenophon to suppose that Cyrus the son-in-law of Astyages is the same king as he who took Babylon and proclaimed liberty to the Jews in the first year of his reign.

* Sir I. Newton's Chronology, p. 286., and Prideaux's Connection, vol. i. p. 69.

CHAP. VIII.

CYRUS, SON OF CAMBYSES AND MANDANE, GRANDSON OF ASTY-
AGES, BEGAN TO REIGN AS UNIVERSAL MONARCH, IN THE
YEAR B.C. 507, AND IS THE CYRUS WHO TOOK BABYLON AND
PROCLAIMED LIBERTY TO THE JEWS.

AT Murghâb, which lies north-east of the ruins of Persepolis, in a valley through which a road runs towards Media, there is a beautiful monument of the old Persian style, which so exactly corresponds with the description given by Arrian of the tomb of Cyrus, which was visited by Aristobulus, one of the companions of Alexander the Great, that most travellers who have seen it are satisfied of the identity of the two monuments, and are of opinion also that Murghâb is the site of the ancient Pasargadæ, where Cyrus was buried. In further confirmation of this opinion, there is an inscription found on a marble block, not far distant from the tomb, written in the old Persian cuneiform character, which runs thus :—

Âdam Qurus khsaja-
θija Hakhamanisija,

and which is thus interpreted : “ I am king Cyrus, of the race of the Achæmenides.” Professor Lassen has argued that this cannot be the tomb of the great Cyrus described by Arrian, judging from the

modest wording of the inscription, the geography of the place, and the skill displayed in the execution of the monument. I see no force, however, in his geographical objections; but, on the contrary, the more I consider them, the more satisfied I am that Murghâb is the seat of the ancient Pasargadæ; and if so, that this must be the tomb of the great "Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who acquired empire for the Persians, and ruled over Asia," for such were the words of an inscription on the tomb itself, in the time of Alexander.* His observation, however, that the style and skill of the workmanship is of later date than the time of the first Cyrus, is, I think, of much weight. Sir Robert Ker Porter, who has given accurate drawings of the tomb and of the marble block, upon which a cherubic figure with four wings is carved, observes: "The chiseling of the feathers is exquisite" — "the proportions of the figure are not in the least defective, nor can any fault be found with its taste, being perfectly free from the dry wooden appearance of Egyptian works of the same kind; and it reminded me entirely of the graceful simplicity of design which characterises the best Grecian friezes."† Could this be the workmanship of the age of that Cyrus who conquered Cræsus, and of a nation, concerning whom one of the subjects of Cræsus thus addressed him: "You meditate, O king, an attack

* "O man, I am Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who acquired empire for the Persians, and reigned over Asia. Envy me not this monument."—Arrian, vi. Strabo, xv.

† Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. &c., p. 493.

upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish; strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only," &c.?* If this is a correct account of the state of civilisation of the Persians in the time of Cræsus, we may safely declare that this monument was not erected in the reign of that Cyrus who conquered him. There is an Egyptian character also about the sculptures observed upon by Porter and Ritter, which indicate that an artist of that nation had been employed in the work, and that it was after the invasion of Egypt by the Persians that the monument was executed. Now, neither the skill displayed in the workmanship, nor the Egyptian character of the monument, is out of place as referred to the time of Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who, if he lived, as we suppose, till after the year B.C. 507, fell in times when Persian sculpture had reached a point of considerable excellence, as witnessed by the tomb of Darius at Nakshi Roustam†: and this Cyrus, we also learn from Xenophon, led his army down into Egypt and conquered that country. But they are wholly inconsistent with the times of Cyrus the father of Cambyses, whose conquests, according to Ctesias, were limited to the neighbouring nations of Media, Scythia, and Lydia, and whose people were then but just emerging from barbarism. Again, it is declared by the inscription, that this Cyrus, son of

* Herodot. l. i. c. 71.

† Porter's Travels, p. 517.

Cambyzes, "acquired empire for the Persians, and ruled over Asia," which is not true of Cyrus the father of Cambyzes, who, according to Ctesias, conquered merely one or two provinces; whereas the Cyrus of Xenophon, soon after the taking of Babylon, conquered all the countries from the entry into Syria as far as the Red Sea, in addition to the other provinces.* This sepulchre at Murghâb, therefore, with its inscriptions, strongly confirms our opinion of the existence of another Cyrus, who lived at a later date than he who conquered Cræsus, and was the predecessor of Cambyzes on the throne of Persia proper. Let us next consider the chronology of the reign of this second king.

We know from Xenophon that Cyrus, son of Cambyzes and Mandane, was made ruler *over Media* about the time of the taking of Babylon, and that he was then appointed subordinate prince or satrap of that province under the "great king" of the empire, Cyaxares; and, though Xenophon gives us no dates throughout his history, we are able to state with accuracy the year when Cyrus thus began to rule, by knowing from Scripture that Cyaxares took the kingdom of Babylon in the sixty-second year of his age, or the sixty-third year from the eclipse of Thales; that is to say, in the year B.C. 523. Xenophon then informs us that, about a year after he had taken possession of the government of Media, he led a large army of 120 thousand horse, and 60 thousand foot, to

* Xenophon, Cyri Instit. lib. viii.

Babylon, and proceeded to conquer the countries between Syria and the Red Sea, and also subdued Egypt. "So that the Red Sea bounded his empire to the east, the Euxine to the north, Egypt and Ethiopia to the south." While Cyrus was absent on these foreign conquests, which must have kept him some years from home, the empire still continued subject to Cyaxares as great king, and Darius Hystaspis, as subordinate king, we know, was at the same time ruler of the province of Persia from B. C. 522 to B. C. 486. How long Cyaxares continued to reign after the capture of Babylon, we are not informed by Xenophon. He tells us, however, that Cyaxares had no male issue at the time that Cyrus married his daughter, so that whenever his death may have happened, Cyrus, his son-in-law, became great king by right of his wife, and it was then, no doubt, that his first year according to Scripture commenced, and that he declared that "the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." Ezra seems to imply that the first year of the reign of Cyrus fell about the time of the expiration of seventy years from the captivity of Judah, which, according to our chronology, expired in the year B. C. 505. I conceive that the proclamation of Cyrus, which went forth in his first year, granting permission to the Jews to return to their own country, was issued in the year B. C. 507. The Jews, we may suppose, were hardly prepared to avail themselves of the permission immediately; and, judging from the prayers and lamentations of

Daniel in the third year of Cyrus*, B.C. 505, when he observes, "I remained there with the kings of Persia," implying that he was not suffered to return to Jerusalem, we may reasonably infer that the first return did not take place till that year. The first year of Cyrus, therefore, according to our chronology, was the year B.C. 507. This we find confirmed by comparing Berosus, the Chaldean historian, and the Phœnician records of the kings of Tyre, preserved by Josephus, with Scripture.

Berosus tells us, as we have already seen†, that after Cyrus had conquered all the rest of Asia, which could not have been accomplished till many years after he had, as general of Cyaxares, placed that king on the throne of Babylon, he came suddenly out of Persia with a great army and dethroned Nabonadius, in the seventeenth year of his reign over Babylon, and took the city, and gave order *that the outer wall should be demolished*. According to the received chronology, this capture of Babylon in the reign of Nabonadius is the same as that described by Xenophon. If so, the particulars related by Berosus must be altogether fiction.

The capture described by Xenophon took place during a feast, and, moreover, a feast celebrated during the night; the king was slain, and a Mede took possession of the throne; all which we know from Scripture to be true. The capture of Babylon, described by Berosus, took place after the king had escaped from the city: that king lived for some

* Daniel, x. 1. 13.

† Pages 82, 83.

time after in Carmania, we have no reason to suppose from the narrative that the city was taken during a feast, and Cyrus the Persian, not a Mede, took possession of the throne, and *ordered the outer wall to be demolished*. Must we then reject the account of Berosus? I am satisfied that it would be a very false judgment so to decide. Berosus was a priest of the temple of Belus, and what better authority could we have upon Babylonish affairs? We find him also most accurate in other parts, and referred to with respect by the earliest authors. It is not reasonable, therefore, to reject his testimony. Both Xenophon and Berosus, I think, are correct; and, if so, this siege of Babylon spoken of by Berosus, when the outer wall was destroyed, in the seventeenth year after the death of Laborosoarchod, and therefore in the year B.C. 508, was the second siege of that city; and Cyrus, who spent much time and trouble in taking the city, must have begun to reign in the following year B.C. 507.

We have already observed that Darius Hystaspis was at this same time ruling over the province of Persia; and Herodotus, who appears to have been as much confused concerning the eastern events of this reign as he was concerning the acts of Cyrus, has related how Babylon was taken a "*second time*" in the reign of Darius. Herodotus tells us that it was taken with the assistance of Zopyrus, in which we know that he was incorrect, for Ctesias expressly contradicts him on this point. Photius remarks, "Thus Ctesias speaks concerning these

matters, not in the same manner that Herodotus speaks of them ; for whatever Herodotus attributes to Zopyrus, except as regards the bringing forth of a mule, Ctesias ascribes to Megabizus, who was son-in-law of Xerxes.* He was correct, however, in stating that Babylon was taken a second time during his reign. He is partly correct and partly incorrect when he adds : “ As soon as Darius became master of the place, he levelled the walls and took away the gates ; neither of which things Cyrus had done before.”

We have a further confirmation that Darius was now on the throne, from a passage quoted by Eusebius from Abydenus:—“ Nabonedochus” (*i. e.* Nabonadius), he writes, “ who had no title by law, was commanded to take the throne, to whom Cyrus, when he captured Babylon, gave the principality of Carmania. *By king Darius, however, he was driven out of the same province.*”† The province of Carmania adjoined Persia proper, and this Darius could be no other than Darius Hystaspis.

The Tyrian records, coupled with Scripture, lead us to exactly the same point of time for the first year of Cyrus. After speaking of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus in the reign of Nabonadius, the last of the Babylonish kings, Josephus writes:—“ These accounts agree with the true histories in our books ; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth (nineteenth) year of

* Ctesiae Fragm. de Rebus Persicis, edit. Didot, p. 50.

† Armenian Eusebius, edit. A. Maius, ch. x.

his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for *fifty years*. But in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second year of Darius. I will now," he says, "add the records of the Phœnicians ; for it will not be altogether superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings:—

	Yrs.	Mths.	In the days of
Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre			
for - - - - -	13	0	Ithobal, their king.
After him reigned for - -	10	0	Baal.
After him were judges appointed			
who judged the people		2	Ecnibalus, son of Baslacus.
		10	Chelbes, son of Abdeas.
		3	Abbar, the high priest.
	6	0	Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus.
After whom reigned for - -	1	0	Belatorus.
After his death they sent and fetched from Babylon, and			
who reigned - - - - -	4	0	Merabalus.
After his death they sent for his brother, who reigned - -	20	0	Hirom.
	55	3	

Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia. So that the whole interval is fifty-four years (*qu. fifty-five?*) besides three months. For in the

seventh (seventeenth*) year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hirom."†

If we deduct the six last years of the reign of Hirom from the whole period, there remain forty-nine years and three months, or fifty years current, counting from the beginning of the siege of Tyre, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 557, to the fourteenth year of Hirom, when Cyrus began to reign, B. C. 507.

We now proceed to show that there is authority independent of Scripture for placing the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in the year B. C. 508.

In one of the miscellaneous compilations of Clemens Alexandrinus, while treating on the subject of chronology, we meet with the following passage :—"From the first Olympiad to the building of Rome, some say that there are twenty-four years. From thence about 243 years to the overthrow of Babylon. And from the overthrow of Babylon to the death of Alexander, 186 years."‡

The first year of the first Olympiad, which began about Midsummer, was current with the two years B. C. $775\frac{1}{2}$ and $774\frac{1}{2}$. Alexander the Great died in the year B. C. 323. Including then the year of his death, we count upwards from B. C. $322+186=B. C. 508$, to the capture of Ba-

* J. Capellus reads, instead of ἐβδόμῳ, ἐβδόμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει.

† Joseph. con. Apion, lib. i. 21.

‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 336.

bylon : and from B. C. $322\frac{1}{2} + 186 + 24 =$ B. C. $775\frac{1}{2}$ or Midsummer, B. C. 776, when the first Olympiad was celebrated.

Now, if the chronologists here referred to are correct, our whole system of dates is established. If Babylon was taken in the year B. C. 508, the whole chain of dates connected with the date of the rebuilding of Jerusalem in B. C. 485, of which the year B. C. 508 is one, as before observed, are so linked together, that the proof of one establishes the correctness of the rest.

Scaliger, in his summary manner, has attempted to set aside this distinct authority for the date of the capture of Babylon, and proposes to amend the passage. After quoting the above extract from Clemens, the important words in which are, *ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνος ἀναίρεσιν*, he exclaims, “ Ridiculous! Read, *ἐπὶ τὴν Βασιλέων ἀναιρέσιν*.” And again, *ἀπὸ καὶ τῆς Βαβυλώνος ἀλώσεως*, &c. &c., he observes, “ the accumulation of error is very ancient, as you see. For here also we should read, *ἀπὸ καὶ τῆς βασιλέων καταλύσεως*, which error, I am aware, has imposed upon learned men.”* Thus he makes the 186 years count from the expulsion of the kings from Rome, meaning the Tarquins, to the death of Alexander. It is not pretended that there is any authority for this alteration of the text; and, though some have observed that it is more natural that the computation should be made from the building of Rome to the expulsion

* Scaliger de Emend. Temp. p. 403, 404.

of the kings from Rome, rather than to the overthrow of Babylon, yet, on the other hand, it may be urged with equal force that it is more natural to compute from the overthrow of Babylon to Alexander, rather than from the expulsion of the kings of Rome to Alexander. The computation originated probably from data derived from Babylon, and may have run thus :— From the capture of Babylon by Cyrus to the capture of Babylon by Alexander (a period well known in that city), so many years. For Alexander, we must remember, died at Babylon. Nevertheless, if this passage were found standing alone, and the date B. C. 508 were left unsupported by other ancient authority, it might be reasonable to question with Scaliger the text on which it stands. But when, on the contrary, it is found that another early writer speaks of this date, and that it evidently forms a link in an entire and consistent system of chronology, of which traces remain, not only is the correctness of the text in question confirmed, but the weight of the authority greatly enhanced. This same date, B. C. 508, for the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, is recorded, in a manner not to be mistaken, by Paulus Orosius. It is a date also necessarily flowing from the chronology of Demetrius, a few important epochs from whose work, which is lost, have been preserved to us by Clemens Alexandrinus.

I beg the reader's particular attention to the testimony of Orosius, which I will quote at length. In his days, that is, about the beginning of the

sixth century, Christianity was still subject to the attacks and enmity of paganism, and all the calamities which then oppressed the western Roman empire, fallen beneath the power of the Gothic invaders, were charged upon the introduction of Christianity as the religion of the state, to the neglect of the heathen gods, under whose protection the empire, it was said, had formerly flourished. At the request of St. Augustin, Orosius, a presbyter of Spain, wrote seven books against the pagans, in which he proposed to show how the world had been subject to earthquakes, wars, invasions, and all the same calamities then pressing upon the Roman empire, from the earliest times, before the introduction of Christianity, and we must presume, from his having been selected for such a purpose, that he was well qualified for the task by acquaintance with heathen historians.

In his second book, deliberately drawing a parallel between the Babylonian and Roman empires, he writes:—"Thus the kingdom of Ninus and Babylon was conveyed to the Medes, in the same year that Procas, the father of Amulius and Numitor, the grandfather of Rhea Silvia, who was the mother of Romulus, began to reign over the Latins. But, as an evidence that all these things happened according to the ineffable mysteries and deep designs of God, and not by human power or uncertain chance, all ancient history begins with Ninus, all Roman history with Procas. Again, from the first year of the empire of Ninus, to the time when the foundation of Babylon was laid by

Semiramis, is sixty-four years ; and from the first year of Procas, when he began to reign, to the building of the city by Romulus, is exactly sixty-four years. So that while Procas reigned, the seed of future Rome was sown, though the germ was not yet to shoot forth. In the same year of the same Procas the kingdom of Babylon failed, though Babylon itself remained. For Arbatus (Arbaces) having fallen upon the Medes, the Chaldæans, who vindicated to themselves the possession of Babylon against the Medes, retained in their power a portion of the kingdom. Thus the power over the province of Babylonia was with the Medes, the possession with the Chaldæans. The Chaldæans, however, in consideration of the ancient dignity of the royal city, preferred to call themselves the subjects of Babylon, rather than that the city should be called after them. From whence it happened that Nebuchodonosor and his successors down to Cyrus, though counted powerful from the strength of the Chaldæans, and distinguished by the name of Babylonia, were, nevertheless, not included in the number or succession of illustrious monarchs. Thus Babylon was degraded by the præfect Arbatus, in the year in which the seed of Rome, to speak correctly, was sown under king Procas. *Babylon for the last time was overthrown by king Cyrus, at the time when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings.* As if under one and the same dispensation of the times and seasons, the one had fallen as the other rose. The one for the first time was then

subjected to the dominion of foreigners, when the other for the first time spurned the pride of her native rulers. The one at that time, as it were, expiring, laid aside the heirship ; the other at the same time, in the prime of youth, began to recognise herself as heir. Then fell the empire of the East. Then arose the empire of the West. And now, that I may dwell no longer on words, I commit myself to the teeth of the insane, confident that I shall be rescued from their virulence by the force of truth.”*

Now this is a most precise and remarkable passage in confirmation of the opinion that Babylon was taken by Cyrus in the year B. C. 508 ; and it is no forced inference from it to assume, that there was extant in the time of Orosius a system of chronology which supported his view, that Babylon was taken in the year in which the kings were expelled from Rome ; for he makes use of no arguments in proof of the opinion, which he would have done had he been bringing forward any thing new : but, on the contrary, assuming the correctness of the chronology to be apparent, he argues from the coincidence of the dates of certain events, that the hand of Providence must have overruled them. The chronological system to which Orosius refers, would appear also to have been the same as that received by those unnamed chronologists referred to by Clemens Alexandrinus, some centuries before, in the passage above quoted. The passage

* P. Orosius con. Paganos, l. ii. c. 2. p. 74.

before us is the more remarkable, as the latter words seem to imply that Orosius was contending against some popular heathen dogma, probably the current chronology of the day, vehemently supported by the pagans, and that the controversy between Christians and pagans on the subject had been carried to such an insane extent, that he appealed to the force of truth to rescue him from the expected virulence of their attack.

The Tarquins were expelled from Rome about the year B.C. 508 or 509. The expression that Babylon was then taken *for the last time by Cyrus, seems to imply that that city fell more than once under his arms.*

In another part of his work, speaking again of the empires of Babylon and Rome, Orosius observes, "that was the first empire, this was the last. That was gradually giving way, as this was sensibly increasing in strength. At the same moment, the last king of that empire passed away, when the sovereignty of this first began. With the invasion of Cyrus, that being subdued, fell as it were mortally stricken, while this, rising with confidence in its own strength, after the expulsion of its kings, began to make use of liberal institutions. It is remarkable, also, that at the time when Rome was vindicating her liberty, the people of the Jews, who had served under the kings of Babylon, having regained their liberty, returned to the holy Jerusalem, and, as had been predicted by their prophets, rebuilt the Temple of the Lord."*

* Orosius, l. vii. c. 2. p. 571.

From the first of these passages we are confirmed in the conclusion that Babylon was taken by Cyrus in the year B. C. 508. From the second, that the Jews returned from captivity about the same time.

Let us now consider the contents of another valuable extract from the miscellanies of Clemens Alexandrinus, where he quotes a few dates of the chronology of Demetrius, an Alexandrine Jew, who lived certainly before the time of Josephus, and probably about 200 years before Christ. The few dates which Clemens has preserved prove that Demetrius maintained a system of Scripture chronology concurring perfectly with the heathen chronology adopted by Orosius and those other chronologists before quoted, and confirming accurately the whole of the dates which we have deduced from the foregoing examination of Scripture. And what authority, I may ask, could we look for or desire more competent to fix the true points of junction between sacred and profane history, than that of a learned Jew, living at a place where all that could be required for the purpose of the investigation of heathen chronology was most accessible; and at a time, also, when the true reckoning of events connected with his own nation could scarcely have been lost, considering that the observance of the sabbatical year was still strictly maintained in his time, and formed, for those who knew how to make use of it, a scale of time as accurate and useful as that of the Olympiads among the Greeks?

After noticing the computations of several an-

cient chronographers, on the several great epochs down to the death of the Emperor Commodus, Clemens adds: — “ But Demetrius, *in his book concerning the kings of Judæa*, says, — ‘ The tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not carried into captivity by Sennacherib; but from this captivity to the last carrying away from Jerusalem by Nebuchodonosor, there were 128 years and 6 months. From the time, however, when the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria to the fourth Ptolemy, were 573 years and 9 months; and from the time of the carrying away from Jerusalem, 338 years and 3 months.’ ”

This important passage has been the source of much perplexity to chronologists, as being wholly irreconcilable with the received system of chronology, as the text stands at present; and in order to produce a certain degree of conformity with it, it has been proposed to alter the text, by substituting the third Ptolemy, viz. Euergetes, for the fourth Ptolemy, viz. Philopator.* This, however, is merely an alteration to suit a system. Let us take the text as nearly as possible as it stands, and observe the result, correcting merely a palpable error of the transcriber, who has written 573 for 473. The words ought to run, “ from the time the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria to the fourth Ptolemy, were 473 years and 9 months.” For if there were but 338 years and 3 months from Ptolemy to the carrying away from

* Synopsis of Chronology, by W. Cunninghame, p. 120.; Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 288.

Jerusalem of Judah and Benjamin, it must have been 473 years and 9 months to the carrying away of the ten tribes from Samaria, 135 years 6 months before. The only difficulty in the passage is to determine what is intended by the somewhat vague expression, "to the fourth Ptolemy." This is usually understood to signify, to the first year of Ptolemy on the throne of Egypt. But Demetrius, according to Clemens, was writing concerning *the kings of Judæa*. The question is, then, when did Ptolemy Philopator become king of Judæa, not when did he become king of Egypt? Now we learn from Polybius, that he did not become master of that country till the fifth or sixth year of his reign in Egypt. His possession of Judæa then became a memorable period in Jewish history, from his attempt to profane the temple at Jerusalem, by violating the "Holy of Holies," and from the persecution of the Jews, which immediately followed, when the whole nation was doomed by him to death, the history of which forms the sole subject of what is called the third book of Maccabees*; and this marked epoch in the history of the Jews was, I have no doubt, in the mind of Demetrius when he calculated the above periods.

There had existed a contest for many years between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, as to which was the rightful owner of Palestine; and when Ptolemy Philopator came to the throne of Egypt, having given himself up to luxury, Antiochus the Great seized upon the disputed territory. Upon

* Walton's Polyglott; and Prideaux, vol. iii. p. 158.

this war ensued, which was terminated by a great battle fought between the contending kings, at Raphia near Gaza, in the year B. c. 217, in which Ptolemy was victorious; and in the following year, B. c. 216, a solemn treaty was concluded between the two kings, by which Judæa and all Palestine was confirmed to Ptolemy as his future possession. The words, therefore, “to the fourth Ptolemy,” imply, to the year B. c. 216, when he first became king of Judæa. From this year, then, let us calculate the dates of those three great periods in Jewish history, viz. the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, the captivity of Judah and Benjamin, and Sennacherib’s unsuccessful threatening of Jerusalem, according to the data left us by Demetrius.

From the time when the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria, i.e. by Shalmanezzer, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, to the first year of Ptolemy Philopator in Judæa.

473 yrs. 9 mths. + B. c. 216 = B. c. 689. 9., or B. c. 690.

From the time when the two tribes were carried away from Jerusalem, i.e. in the 11th year of Zedekiah, to the same date.

338 yrs. 3 mths. + B. c. 216 = B. c. 554. 3., or B. c. 555.

From the time when Sennacherib retreated from Jerusalem, in the 15th year of Hezekiah, to the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the 23rd year of his reign.*

128 yrs. 6 mths. + B. c. 551 = B. c. 679. 6., or B. c. 680.

Now these three dates all exactly correspond with the chronology which we have been endea-

* Jerem. lii. 30.

vouring to establish, reducing the date of each event thirty-three years below the date assigned to it in the received system. To my own mind this testimony is of sufficient weight, even alone, to establish the correctness of our reasoning, being derived from one who had the surest means in his days of knowing the truth. But it is, moreover, in perfect harmony with the chronology of Orosius and those other writers referred to by Clemens, as regards the date of the capture of Babylon. For if Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar in B. C. 555, in the nineteenth year of his reign, then must Nabonadius have been driven out of Babylon by Cyrus forty-eight years after that date; that is to say, in the year B. C. 508.

Further comment upon this testimony of Demetrius could add nothing to its force. I will merely add, therefore, that Demetrius is referred to by Josephus *, Clemens, and Eusebius †, in terms which imply that he was a writer of note, and in connection also with another writer named Eupolemus; and that there is reason to conclude that Eupolemus coincided with Demetrius in placing the dates of Jewish history thirty-three years lower than our current chronology. ‡

Let us add a few words on the evidence of native Persian historians, who confirm the conclusion that Cyrus, son of Mandane and Cambyses, was succeeded on the throne by Darius Hystaspis. I

* Josephus *Con. Apion*, l. i. c. 23.

† *Eccles. Hist.* l. vi. 13.

‡ See *Synopsis of Chronology*, by W. Cunningham, p. 121.

hardly know what weight to attach to the testimony of these historians, considering that they appear to have made no use of those historical records graven upon rocks and monuments in different parts of the Persian empire, which have lately become known to us, and the language of which appears to have been sealed to them. Their evidence, however, such as it is, is in accordance with our deductions from Scripture.

From Scripture we find that the successor of Cyrus, who issued the proclamation granting liberty to the Jews to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem and to return from captivity, was Ahasuerus, whom we have shown to be Darius Hystaspis; and thus are the kings of Persia mentioned in succession:—

Darius the Mede	-	-	-	Cyaxares.
Coresh	-	-	-	Cyrus.
Ahasuerus or Artachsastha	-			Darius Hystaspis.
Darius, son of Ahasuerus	-			Xerxes.
Artachsastha, who reigned more than thirty-two years	-			Artaxerxes Longimanus.

From the native Persian historians we obtain the following list of kings:—

<i>Caianian family.</i>				
Cai-Caius	-	-	-	Cyaxares.
Cai-Khosru	-	-	-	Cyrus.
Lohorasp	-	-	-	Darius Hystaspis.
Kishtasp	-	-	-	Xerxes.
Ardeshir-Dirasdest, or long- handed	-	-	-	Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Thus between Cai-Caius and Lohorasp, the Persian historians know of no prince answering to the description of Cambyses; but, on the contrary, they

tell us that Cyrus during his life resigned his throne to Lohorasp, or Darius Hystaspis.

Cai-Caius, who precedes Cai-Khosru, is clearly Cyaxares.

There can be no doubt of the identity of Cai-Khosru and Cyrus son of Mandane, for each at his birth was delivered into the hands of a shepherd, to be exposed in the wilderness.

That Lohorasp was Darius Hystaspis, we may conclude from Ferdosi, following whom, Sir John Malcolm thus writes :— Cai-Khosru, after he had conquered Afrasiab, “ resolved to devote the remainder of his life to religious retirement. He delivered over Cabul, Zabulistan, and Neemrooz, to Roostum, as hereditary possessions, and resigned his throne to Lohorasp, the son-in-law of Cai-Caius, and his own son of adoption and affection. This prince (Lohorasp) *obliged both the rulers of Tartary and of China to do him homage.* Raham Gudurz, more commonly known by his title, Buct-ul-Nasser, the governor of Irak, was commanded to extend the empire to the West.” * We have no reason to suppose, from Herodotus, that Cambyzes conducted an army eastward during his reign ; and his chief exploit was the invasion of Egypt. Darius Hystaspis, however, is said to have annexed India to the Persian empire, through which Lohorasp would have passed when subjecting Tartary and China. Lohorasp sent an expedition into the west, as did Darius against Greece. Lohorasp at first “ met with

* Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

some opposition: but his virtues, the excellence of his civil institutions, and the discipline he introduced into the army, soon established his authority."* All this ill agrees with the history and character of Cambyzes, but in all the leading features, with some allowance, is not inconsistent with the history of Darius. We have the authority therefore of native Persian historians for placing Darius not only as the immediate successor of Cyrus, but as coming to the throne during the life of that prince.

Kishtasp, was son of Lohorasp, which is sufficient to show that Kishtasp was not Darius Hystaspis, as some suppose, for Darius was not the son of a king but of a Persian noble. In the reign of Kishtasp, writes Ferdosi, a great expedition was conducted into Asia Minor by his son Isfunder. The great event of the reign of Xerxes was his expedition against Greece conducted through Asia Minor. If these expeditions are one and the same, the successful part of it alone appears to have been recorded in the annals copied by these historians. Kishtasp, like Xerxes, came to the throne during the life of his father.

Ardeshir the long-handed can be no other than Artaxerxes Longimanus. It is rather with a view of showing that there is nothing contradictory to our system in the Persian account of these reigns, than of adding strength to the authorities we have quoted, that we have thus alluded to these histories,

* Sir J. Malcolm supposes the reign of Lohorasp to include the reigns of Cambyzes and Smerdis. He also supposes that Kishtasp was Darius Hystaspis. The events and characters ill accord with the description of those princes by Herodotus.

which are full of fiction. The testimony, such as it is, is, however, against the idea that Cambyses succeeded Cyrus. Our own conclusion is that Cambyses, who conquered Egypt, preceded that Cyrus who took Babylon and released the captive Jews.

Thus we have endeavoured to show, in this and the preceding chapter, that the evidence of ancient history, when carefully examined, does not bear out the generally received idea that but one Cyrus only reigned over the Persians, but, on the contrary, that two bearing that title reigned: the first as king of the province of Persia proper, before the empire began, succeeded in that province by Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspis, contemporary with Cræsus, and beginning his reign in the year B. C. 560, but not the conqueror of Babylon: the other, first as ruler of the province of Media, and afterwards supreme sovereign of the empire of Babylon, Media, Persia, and the dependant provinces, but never immediate ruler of the province of Persia, who twice conquered Babylon, once in the year B. C. 524, before he was even subordinate prince of Media, the second time in the year B. C. 508, when he came to the sovereignty of the empire. All which is consistent with Scripture, Xenophon, Ctesias, Berosus, Clemens, Orosius, and Demetrius, to the exclusion only of Herodotus; and which may also be made consistent with Herodotus as far as regards the reign of "Cambyses son of Cyrus," on the assumption that the Cambyses so designated by him, who conquered Egypt and was contemporary with Cræsus, was the son of the first

Cyrus, ruler of the province of Persia, and father of Cyrus the Great born of Mandane, to whom the Lord God gave all the kingdoms of the earth, and who freed the Jews from captivity.

CHRONOLOGY OF ERATOSTHENES, COMBINED WITH THAT OF SEVERAL CHRONOLOGISTS QUOTED, BUT NOT NAMED, BY CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, AND ALSO WITH THAT OF DEMETRIUS, A JEWISH WRITER BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. I.

Eratosthenes.	Chronologists referred to by Clemens Alexandrinus.	Demetrius.	B. C.
Troy taken - -	- -	- -	Troy taken - - 1183.
Return of the Heraclidæ 80 years after the taking of Troy - -	- -	- -	Return of the Heraclidæ - - 1103.
Ionia founded 60 years after return of the Heraclidæ	- -	- -	Ionia founded - 1043.
Lycurgus 159 years after Ionia was founded. 108 years before the 1st Olympiad -	- -	- -	Lycurgus - - 884.
1st Olympiad -	- -	- -	1st Olympiad - 776.
	Rome founded 24 years after 1st Olympiad, about 243 years before the taking of Babylon	- -	Rome founded - 752.
		The 10 tribes carried away from Samaria 473 years and 9 months before Ptolemy Philopator began to reign over Judæa	Captivity of the 10 tribes of Israel - 690.
		Capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar 338 years and 9 months before Ptolemy Philopator began to reign over Judæa - -	Capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar - 555.

Eratosthenes.	Chronologists referred to by Clemens Alexandrinus.	Demetrius.	B.C.
		The last carrying away of captives by Nebuchadnezzar from Jerusalem in the 23rd year of his reign, 128 years and 6 months after the invasion of Sennacherib -	Last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem - 551.
	Babylon taken in the 186th year before the death of Alexander the Great - Confirmed by P. Orosius, L. ii. ch. 2.	- -	Babylon taken - 508.
Passage of Xerxes 297 years after the 1st Olympiad -	- -	-	Retreat of Xerxes 479.
Beginning of the Peloponnesian war 48 years after the retreat of Xerxes -	- -	- -	Peloponnesian war 431.
Overthrow of the Athenians by the Lacedemonians 27 years after -	- -	- -	Overthrow of Athenians - 404.
Battle of Leuctra 34 years after -	- -	- -	Battle of Leuctra 370.
Death of Philip 35 years after -	- -	- -	Death of Philip - 335.
Death of Alexander the Great, 12 years after -	Death of Alexander -	- -	Death of Alexander 323.

In the foregoing table, the chronology of Eratosthenes, the librarian of Ptolemy Soter, and the father, as he has been called, of heathen chronology, is combined with that of other chronologists quoted, but not named, by Clemens Alexandrinus, and also with that of the Jewish writer Demetrius, because together they form a consistent whole, perfectly in

unison with our system: and because in the mind of Clemens the chronology of Eratosthenes and the unnamed writers referred to by him are clearly associated, as supporting each other as far as the death of Alexander the Great. The Scripture chronology of Demetrius also cannot stand except in connexion with such a system of heathen chronology.

It may be observed that Eratosthenes has lowered the dates of the earlier periods of Athenian chronology by 26 years, which is exactly the extent to which we have found it necessary to lower the last year of the Median dynasty, or death of Astyages, which we know is closely connected with the later period of Athenian chronology through Cræsus, who during the last years of Astyages sent to Pisistratus tyrant of Athens seeking an alliance against the Medes.

The Parian chronicle, inscribed about the year B. C. 264, which is the most connected, and we may presume a correct record of the generally received chronology of its day, places the twenty-second year of the reign of Menestheus in the year B. C. 1209. Eratosthenes places it twenty-six years lower, in the year B. C. 1183. By lowering the date of Menestheus king of Athens, we may presume that Eratosthenes lowered also the date of Creon and the earlier archons of Athens to the same extent. Probably, also, the archonship of Euthydemus, during which Cræsus consulted the oracle of Delphi, as related by the chronicle, was lowered some few years. So that Diogenes Laertius, who places the archonship of Euthydemus in the fifty-sixth Olym-

piad, has, on the supposition, followed the unrec-tified chronology.

Before we close this chapter, let us point out a remarkable result of the bringing down of the date of the first capture of Babylon by Cyrus as low as the year B. C. 524. We have seen that the seventh year of Cambyses is fixed by an eclipse to the year B. C. 523, and from the eclipse of Thales we calculate that Cyaxares took the throne of Babylon in the same year, B. C. 523; and from Xenophon, whose history we for the most part accept, we find that Cyrus visited his father Cam-byses in Persia about the same year, that is, im-mediately after the capture of Babylon, and then became ruler of the province of Media; and from Berossus, that Nabonadius, "a man of Babylon," was made ruler of that province on the death of Laboro-soarchod or Belshazzar, also in the year of the cap-ture. So that we have Cyaxares, Cambyses, Cyrus, and Nabonadius, all on the throne together in different parts of the empire of which Babylon was the head.

To those who accept Herodotus's account of Babylonish and Persian affairs, this result will be most unsatisfactory, for he gives us no intimation of any such state of things. But it is exactly what we are led to expect from Scripture. There we learn, from the book of Daniel, that on the death of Belshazzar the empire was divided into three parts, with an independent ruler placed over each, and with about forty provinces and as many princes subject to each ruler. Daniel thus interprets to Belshazzar the handwriting on the wall: — "Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and

Persians.”* And again: “It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom 120 princes, which should be over the whole kingdom, and over these *three presidents*, of whom Daniel was the first.† Nothing can be more clear than these words, to show that the empire was divided into three parts immediately after the taking of Babylon; and nothing can be more clear, from a comparison of Xenophon with Berosus, that these three parts were Babylon, Media, and Persia, ruled by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Nabonadius, with Cyaxares supreme over all. Cyaxares took the throne, probably, as next in succession, on the failure of the line of Nebuchadnezzar, who had married Amuhea the daughter of Astyages, according to Abydenus and Polyhistor, and she was sister therefore of Cyaxares: and that Persian and Median governors were put over all the provinces, appears to be confirmed by the Tyrian records, from which we learn that Mera-balus was sent as governor from Babylon about this same year, B. C. 524.‡ The kingdom was literally divided at this time between the Medes and Persians, and subject to the laws of the Medes and Persians till Cyrus came to the throne of the empire seventeen years after, from which time it became the empire of the Persians and Medes. The Nabonadius of Berosus, called by him “a man of Babylon,” I conceive to be Daniel himself, called also Belteshazzar, who, as chief president, was set over the principal province and kept near the person of the great king.

* Dan. v. 28.

† vi. 1.

‡ See p. 60.

CHAP. IX.

CONSIDERATION OF THE CANON OF PTOLEMY.

HAVING now accurately defined our view of the principal dates in Scripture chronology, which relate to the times of which we are treating; and having pointed out the clear outline of chronology which is contained in Scripture from the birth of Christ upwards to the creation: having likewise endeavoured to show how the chronology of the kingdoms of Media, Persia, and Lydia, as collected from ancient heathen records, harmonises with the chronology of Scripture during the particular period from the captivity to the release of the Jews from Babylon: there remains yet a formidable task to be accomplished, *viz.* to reconcile Assyrian and Egyptian chronology with that which has been deduced from Scripture. Sacred history about the times we have been considering is so interwoven with that of Assyria and Egypt, that no accurate inquirer into the truth of the system we propose can be satisfied till it shall have been shown that these three separate streams of chronology are consistent one with the other.

The astronomical calendar of Ptolemy, by which Assyrian history, as far as regards the kings of Babylon, is determined, is a trying test, to which every system of chronology relating to this per-

plexed period must be submitted. This invaluable record contains a list of the kings who reigned at Babylon, from the year B. C. 747, throughout the times of which we treat, the dates of several of the most important reigns being certified by eclipses observed and recorded in the temple of Belus. Concerning Ptolemy's canon, Dr. Prideaux has observed, "The truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations, and no one has ever calculated those eclipses, that hath not found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore, this being the surest guide which we have in the chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement everywhere with the Holy Scriptures, it is not for the authority of any other human writing whatsoever to be receded from.* Such is the veneration which has hitherto been shown, and justly, for this valuable record. The accuracy of its agreement with Scripture, however, according to the ordinary mode of arrangement, is somewhat overstated by Prideaux. There are great difficulties and perplexities in the way of reconciling the canon with Scripture, which have never yet been satisfactorily surmounted, and it is the complete and striking accordance of the chronology of the canon, when adjusted as I propose, with the chronology of Scripture as deduced from Scripture itself, that I rely upon as the final and conclusive proof of the accuracy of our whole system. There are three copies of this canon which have come

* Prid. Con. vol. ii. p. 411.

down to us, which have been distinguished as the canon of Ptolemy according to Theon *, the astronomical canon, and the ecclesiastical canon. The first is that which is considered the most correct: but as each differs from the other in some important particulars, it is only to those points in which all agree to which our veneration should be attached. The following table gives a comparative view of the three different copies, together with the arrangement we propose.

* Cory's Ancient Fragments.

THE ASTRONOMICAL CANON OF PTOLEMY.

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
				1 Nabonassar 2 called in Scrip- 3 ture Salmanasar. 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
				11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
747 6 5	1 Nabonassar 2 3	1 Nabonassar 2 3	1 Nabonassar 2 3	
744 3 2 1 0	4 5 6 7 8	4 5 6 7 8	4 5 6 7 8	21 22 23 24 25

9 8 7 6 5	9 10 11 12 13	9 10 11 12 13	9 10 11 12 13	1 Nabius 2 3 4 5
734 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	14 1 Nabius 2 1 Chinzerus and Porus 2 3 4 5 1 Jugæus 2	14 1 Nabius 2 1 Chinzerus and Porus 2 3 4 5 1 Ilulæus 2	14 1 Nabius 2 1 Chinzerus and Porus 2 3 4 5 1 Jugæus 2	6 7 8 1 Chinzerus and Porus 2 3 4 5 1 Ilulæus 2
Eclipse Eclipse 19 Mar. 8 Mar.	724 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	3 4 5 1 Mardoc empadus 2 3 4 5 6 7	3 4 5 1 Mardoc empadus 2 3 4 5 6 7	3 4 5 1 Mardoc empadus 2 3 4 5 6 7

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
714 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	8 9 10 11 12 1 Arcianus 2 3 4 5	8 9 10 11 12 1 Arcianus 2 3 4 5	8 9 10 11 12 1 Arceanus 2 3 4 5	8 9 10 11 12 1 Arceanus 2 3 4 5
704 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	1 Interregnum 2 1 Belibus 2 3 1 Apronadius 2 3 4 5	1 Interregnum 2 1 Belibus 2 3 1 Apronadius 2 3 4 5	1 Interregnum 2 1 Belibus 2 3 1 Aparanadius 2 3 4 5	1 Interregnum 2 1 Belibus 2 3 1 Aparanadius 2 3 4 5
694 3 2 1 0	6 1 Rigebelus 1 Mesessimordacus 2 3	6 1 Rigebelus 1 Mesessimordacus 2 3	6 1 Erigebalus 1 Mesessimordacus 2 3	6 1 Erigebalus 1 Mesessimordacus 2 3

9 8 7 6 5	4 1 2 3 4 Interregnum	4 1 2 3 4 Interregnum	4 1 2 3 4 Interregnum	4 1 2 3 4 Interregnum
684 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 Brother of Senecherib Asices, 30 days Marodach Baladanus, 6 Elibus, 2 years [ms. Assaradinus	5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 Isarindinus	5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 Isarindinus	5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 Isarindinus
674 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1 2 3 Saosducheus	7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1 2 3 Saosducheus	7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1 2 3 Saosducheus	7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1 2 3 Saosduchinus

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
664 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 Cineladanus	4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 Cineladanus
654 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	14 15 16 17 18 19 20 1 2 3 Chuniladanus	14 15 16 17 18 19 20 1 2 3 Chuniladanus	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
644 3 2 1 0	4 5 6 7 8	4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 Nabopalasarus, the father of Nebu- chodonosor	1 2 3 4 5 Nabopalasarus

9 10 11 12 13	9 10 11 12 13	9 10 11 12 13	6 7 8 9 10	6 7 8 9 10
634 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 1 Nabopallasar or	14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 1 Nabopolassar	11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
624 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 Sardan-napalas, or Nebuchodonosor	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	21 1 Nabopallasar, who is Nebuchodonosor	21 1 Nabuchodonosor, his son.

Eclipse 21 Apr. 1

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
614 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	12 Nabopalas-sar or 13 Sardan-napalas or 14 Nebuchodonosor. 15 16 17 18 19 20 21.1 Saracus the Scythian	12 Nabopolassar. 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	10 Nabopalsarus 11 who is 12 Nebuchodonosor. 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	10 Nabuchodonosor 11 his son. 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
604 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 Nabocolassar 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
594 3 2 1 0	12 13 14 15 16	11 12 13 14 15	30 31 32 33 34	30 31 32 33 34

Eclipse of Thales	9 8 7 6 5	17 18 19 20 21	16 17 18 19 20	35 36 37 38 39	35 36 37 38 39
	584 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	22 23 24 25 26 27 28 22 Nabopalas-sar again 23 24	21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	40 41 42 43 1 Illoarudamus 2 3 1 Nerigasolasarus 2 3	40 41 42 43 1 Evilad Merodach 2 3 4 5 1 Neriglesarus,
	574 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	25 1 26 Nabocolassar or 2 27 Nebuchadnezzar. 3 28 4 29 5 6 7 8 9	31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40	4 5 1 Nabonadius, who is Astyages 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	2 who is Baltasar 3 1 Nabonadius, who is Astyages, Darius Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
564 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	10 Nebuchadnezzar 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 Cyrus, father of Cambyses 1 2 3 4 5	41 Nabocolassar 42 43 1 Iluarodamus 2 1 Niricassolasarus 2 3 4 1 Nabonadius	9 Nabonadius 10 who is 11 Astyages 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	9 Nabonadius, 10 who is 11 Astyages, 12 Darius, 13 Ahasuerus 14 and Artaxerxes 15 16 17 1 Cyrus
554 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5 .	20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
544 3 2 1 0	30 31 32 33 34 16 17 18 19 20	12 13 14 15 16	29 30 31 32 33	12 13 14 15 16

B. C.	Canon of Ptolemy arranged as proposed.	Canon of Ptolemy accord- ing to Theon.	Astronomical Canon according to Syncellus.	Ecclesiastical Canon.
514 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	11 Nabonadius 9 12 10 13 11 14 12 15 13 16 14 17 15 1 Cyrus, son of Mandane 2 17 3 18	8 Darius Hystaspis 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	8 Darius Hystaspis 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	3 Darius Hystaspis 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
504 27 Dec. 3 2 1 0 9 8 7 6 5	4 19 5 20 6 21 7 22 8 23 9 24 1 Darius Hystasp. or 25 2 Ahasuerus 26 3 27 4 28	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

Eclipse

Eclipse 24 Dec. 2	494	5	29	28	23
	3	6	30	29	24
	2	7	31	30	25
	1	8	32	31	26
	0	9	33	32	27
	9	10	34	33	28
	8	11	35	34	29
	7	12	36	35	30
	6	1	Xerxes or Darius, 1	36	31
	5	2	son of Ahasuerus 2	1	32
				Xerxes	

Now these three copies of the Canon all agree with each other, from the year B. C. 731, or the first year of Chinzerus and Porus, down to the year B. C. 667, or the first year of Saosduchinus, both as regards the length of each king's reign, and the date at which each king came to the throne. The correctness of the dates is verified, by two eclipses which happened in the first and second years of Mardocempadus, and also by the following passage from Censorinus, which fixes the date of the first year of Nabonassar, as given in two of the copies. "By the Egyptians in like manner as by ourselves," writes Censorinus, "certain years are recorded, and they call their era Nabonnagarius, (Nabonnassar) and their years are calculated from the first year of his reign, of which years the present is the 986th."* Censorinus wrote this in the Consulship of Ulpian and Brutian, in the year A. D. 238, 239, and, deducting 239 years from 986, leaves B. C. 747 as the first year of the era of Nabonassar. Thus far then we cannot question the correctness of the dates of the Canon.

We now proceed to apply this portion of the Canon to Scripture, first, however, examining a very important passage from Alexander Polyhistor, which requires consideration; a passage which has been preserved by Eusebius, and recently discovered in the Armenian copy of his Chronicon. It runs thus: "After the reign of the brother of Sennacherib, Acises reigned over the Babylonians, and when he had governed for the space of thirty days, he was slain by *Marodach-Baladanus*, who held the

* Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 327.

*empire by force during six months: and he was slain, and succeeded by a person named Elibus. But in the third year of his reign Senecherib king of the Assyrians levied an army against the Babylonians; and in a battle in which they were engaged routed and took him prisoner with his adherents, and commanded them to be carried into the land of the Assyrians. Having taken upon himself the government of the Babylonians, he appointed his son Asordanius their king, and he himself retired again into Assyria."** From this passage we are enabled to fill up part of the interregnum of eight years in the Canon, between the reigns of Mesesimordacus and Assaradinus, and thereby to fix with accuracy the date of the reign of Merodach-Baladan of Scripture, and from thence to arrive at the true date of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah.

The Asordanius, king of Babylon, and son of Senecherib of Polyhistor, is clearly the Esarhaddon son of Sennacherib of Scripture: and as there is no other name amongst the whole list of the kings of Babylon in the Canon which approaches either to Esarhaddon or Asordanius, except Assaradinus, and that is nearly the same, without doubt Asordanius, Esarhaddon, and Assaradinus are the same. Now, Assaradinus, according to all three copies of the Canon, began to reign in Babylon in the year B.C. 680. His reign is counted, according to the practice of the Canon, from the first of Thoth in that year, that is, from the 9th February: but this conquest of Elibus, his predecessor, may nevertheless have taken place in any part of the year

* Euseb. Chron. Arm. p. 42.

B. C. 680, and the first year of Elibus therefore may have commenced at any time in the course of the year B. C. 682. Let us assume that Elibus began to reign in the autumn of B. C. 682, and the necessary sequence is, that Marodach-Baladanus reigned from spring to autumn in the same year, *which is the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah according to our table.* For the Jews counted the years of their kings from the month Nisan, as the Babylonians from the month Thoth: so that the fourteenth year of Hezekiah began in spring B. C. 682, and ended in spring B. C. 681: and the whole of the reign of the Marodach-Baladanus of Polyhistor thus coincided with the fourteenth of Hezekiah.

Let us now turn to the prophet Isaiah, who writes, "In those days, was Hezekiah sick unto death," and the prophet was sent unto him to say, "Thus saith the Lord, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years *:" and as the whole length of Hezekiah's reign was twenty-nine years, this sickness must have occurred in the fourteenth year of his reign. Isaiah goes on to say,—“At that time Merodach-baladan the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he had heard that he had been sick, and was recovered.”† Thus the Marodach-Baladanus of Polyhistor, according to the Canon, reigned in the year B. C. 682, and the Merodach-baladan of Scripture reigned in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, which, according to our reckoning, fell in the year B. C. 682.

* Isaiah xxxviii. 1. 4.

† Isaiah xxxix. 1.

Again, let us reverse the order of our observations, beginning with Scripture. "In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them."* Hezekiah appears to have bought peace for a time by sending all the gold and silver from his palace and the temple to the king of Assyria. But Sennacherib again threatened the city, when his army was miraculously destroyed. "So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead."† From the book of Tobit, who was himself captive at Nineveh at this very time, we have reason to believe, that the murder of Sennacherib took place very soon after his return from Jerusalem: for it appears that the king was incensed against the Jewish captives, probably owing to his failure against that city, and Tobit writes—"If the king Sennacherib had slain any *when he was come and fled from Judæa*, I buried them privily. Then all my goods were forcibly taken away—and there passed not *five and fifty days* before two of his sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararath, and Sarchedonus (Esarhaddon) his son reigned in his stead."‡ We may infer, therefore, that Sennacherib was slain about the sixteenth year of Hezekiah, B. C. 680—

* 2 Kings xviii. 13.

† 2 Kings xix. 36, 37.

‡ Tobit, ch. i. 21.

79, according to our reckoning ; and as Esarhaddon or Asordanius, according to Polyhistor, was placed on the throne of Babylon before Sennacherib's death, and two years after the death of Marodach-Baladanus, after the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, B.C. 682, it is clear that he must have begun to reign about the beginning of the sixteenth year of Hezekiah, B.C. 680, which exactly agrees with the Canon.

Nothing can be more perfect and complete than the junction between Scripture and profane history at this point, according to the chronology we propose : and nothing, on the other hand, can be more confused than the received chronology at this same point. It will be remembered that we have shown that the fourteenth year of Hezekiah was Sabbatical, and the fifteenth a Jubilee, which, counted upwards from the birth of Christ, necessarily fixes those years to B. C. 682-1, and B. C. 681-0 ; and those dates we have seen also confirmed by the chronology of Demetrius. When, therefore, we find, that the reign of Marodach-Baladanus and the first year of Assaradinus in the Canon, by astronomical calculation fall in those same years, the union between sacred and profane history at this point cannot indeed be made more complete.

In the received system, however, according to Prideaux, Arcianus of the Canon is made to be the Esarhaddon of Scripture : according to Blair and Clinton, Apronadius is supposed to represent that king. The very learned Mr. Clinton, after pointing out the confusion existing at this point of history, writes, " It is plain, then, that Abydenus and Polyhistor have confounded Sennacherib with Esar-

haddon, and have ascribed to the father the acts which in reality belonged to the son. Esarhaddon, under the name of Sardanapalus, lost the Median empire; and under the name of Sardanapalus was commemorated by the Greeks as the founder of Tarsus and Anchiale. By an opposite error both Abydenus and Polyhistor, in speaking of the king of Media, name the son for the father."* Mardocempadus of the Canon, who ceased to reign just thirty years before Assaradinus came to the throne, is according to this system supposed to be the Merodach-baladan of Scripture, who we know from Scripture preceded Esarhaddon the son of Sennacherib by only two years: and the Marodach-Baladanus of Polyhistor is put grossly out of place. The following is the result of Mr. Clinton's consideration of the subject.†

ASSYRIA.						BABYLON.					
					B. C.					B. C.	
21.	Pul	-	-	before	-	-	769.	Nabonassar	14.	747.	Feb. 26.
23.	Tiglath-pileser	before	-	-	-	-	738.	Nadius	-	2.	733.
								Chinzerus et Porus	5.	731.	
23.	Shalmaneser	-	-	-	-	-	729.	Jugæus	-	5.	726.
24.	Sennacherib	-	before	-	-	-	713.	Mardocempadus	12.	721.	
25.	Esarhaddon or Sardanapalus	-	-	-	-	18.	711.	Archianus	-	5.	709.
								Interregnum	-	2.	704.
								<i>Hagisa 30 days.</i>			
								<i>Marudach-Baldanes 6 months.</i>			
26.	Asordanes or Nergilus, at Babylon 6.	} 8.			699.			<i>Belibus</i>	-	3.	702.
	in Assyria 2.				693.			Apronadius or			
								Asordanes	-	6.	699.
								Regibalus	-	1.	693.
27.	Adrameles or Sammughis	-	-	-	21.	691.		Mesisimordacus	-	4.	692.
								Interregnum	-	8.	688.
								Asaridinus	-	13.	680.
28.	Axerdis frater Sammughis	(21)	20.	670.				Saosduchinus	-	20.	667.
29.	Nabuchodonosor, or Sardanapalus	-	-	-	(21)	20.	650.	Chinaladanus	-	22.	647.
30.	Saracus, or Ninus II., or Sardanapalus	-	-	-	(23)	24.	630.	Nabopolassar	-	21.	625. Jan. 27.
	Nineveh destroyed.	-	-	-	-	-	606.	Nebuchadnezzar	-	43.	604. Jan. 21.

* Fasti Hell. vol. i. p. 275.

† Page 278.

The difference between our arrangement and the foregoing table of Mr. Clinton is, that he makes the Elibus of Polyhistor and the Belibus of the Canon to be identical, so placing the reign of Marudach-Baldanes in the year B. c. 703, ten years, however, after the fourteenth year of Hezekiah in the received system; we make the Asordanius of Polyhistor and the Asaradinus of the Canon identical, so placing Marudach-Baldanes, as he writes it, in the year B. c. 682, in which the fourteenth year of Hezekiah begins, according to our reckoning.

I cannot quit this portion of the Canon without observing upon the exact correspondence between the Median chronology and that of Scripture during this period, which results from our arrangement. It will be remembered that we fixed the date of the last year of Phraortes or Arphaxad, king of Media, by the date of the seventeenth year of Nabopalassar or Nebuchodonosor, who slew him, in B. c. 609, as calculated by an eclipse observed at Babylon in his fifth year: and by counting upwards from Phraortes we find that the first year of Deioces must have fallen in the year B. c. 683, or the twelfth of Hezekiah, being about six years after Shalmaneser took Samaria, and about four years before the death of Sennacherib his successor. Now Deioces, according to Herodotus, was the founder of the Median empire, and under him the Medes revolted from the dominion of the Assyrians. "They contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom." * The Medes,

* Herodot. lib. i. 95.

thus, revolted from Sennacherib, according to our reckoning. If this is correct, we ought to find some allusion in Scripture to the disturbed state of the Assyrian empire in the reign of Sennacherib; and, accordingly, we have it from a Jewish captive who was dwelling in the capital of the Assyrian empire at the time. Tobit, who had left some property in Media soon after he had been carried away captive from Samaria, writes, "When Enemesser (Shalmaneser) was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead: whose estate was troubled, so that I could not go into Media." * These few words indicate revolt at that time in Media. Tobit, towards the end of his life, recommends his son to leave Nineveh, and to take up his residence in Media, observing, "That for a time peace should rather be in Media †;" thereby showing that the Medes had at that time established their freedom. In the received system, the revolt of Deioces falls thirty years earlier than the reign of Assaradinus, and therefore before the reign of Sennacherib, who did not precede Assaradinus more than ten years at most.

The reign of Hezekiah is full of interesting data by which to connect sacred and profane history. In his sixth year we find So, king of Egypt, mentioned as contemporary with Shalmaneser, and this king we may assume to be the same as Sethos, or Sothos, of Herodotus; for Sennacherib ‡, he tells us, a few years after came up against Egypt in

* Tobit, i. 15.

† Tobit, xiv. 4.

‡ Herodot. lib. ii. 141.

the reign of Sethos. There is also the name of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia mentioned in Scripture as heading a great army in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah.* Now if we carry on the eye in our table † to the Egyptian list of kings, we find Taracos succeeding Sethos in the year B. c. 680, or fifteenth of Hezekiah. Whereas in Blair's Tables we find a blank, and in Prideaux's Sabacus appears to be So, and Tirhakah comes to the throne in the twenty-third year of Hezekiah. It is astonishing how the number of anachronisms in the received chronology about the reign of Hezekiah, where there are more links of connection between sacred and profane history than in any other part of the Bible, have been allowed to stand so long without throwing discredit upon the whole arrangement.

We now come to the second period in the Canon of Ptolemy, viz. from the year B. c. 667, or first year of Saosduchinus, to the year B. c. 621, or fifth year of Nabopalassar, and here we find that the copies of the Canon are at variance with each other. The eclipse observed at Babylon on the 21st April 621, is placed by Theon in the fifth year of Nabopalassar the father; by Syncellus and the Ecclesiastical Canon it is placed in the third year of Nabopalassar, or Nebuchodonosor, the son. Two of the copies, however, testify that the eclipse was observed in the reign of a king called Nabopalassar, and there is no difficulty whatever in deciding which of the two kings was then on the throne, by

* 2 Kings xix. 9.

† Page 56.

means of the eclipse of Thales, provided we are satisfied as to the date of that eclipse. According to the arrangement of Syncellus, and the Ecclesiastical Canon, the eclipse of Thales in B. C. 585, falls in the thirty-ninth year of Nebuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, the son ; in which case the destruction of Nineveh, which took place after the time of that eclipse, would appear to have fallen after the destruction of Jerusalem (current reckoning, B. C. 588), which took place in the nineteenth year of that king's reign. But all authority places the capture of Nineveh in the reign of Nebuchodonosor the father, and long before the capture of Jerusalem by his son. The copy of Theon, then, is correct, and we may consider that we have a sure chronological guide in the Canon, as usually received, to the end of Nabopalassar the father's reign.

Now, let us examine what was the state of Assyria and Babylon, during this second period in the Canon of forty-six years ; and how far the result, under our arrangement of Scripture chronology, corresponds with accounts given us in profane history. From Scripture we have seen that, on the death of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead, at Nineveh ; and from Polyhistor we have seen that Esarhaddon was, at the time of his coming to the throne of Nineveh, already King of Babylon. It is clear, therefore, that the kingdoms of Babylon and Assyria were, henceforth, for a time united under the same empire. Accordingly we read that, in the reign of Manasses, who succeeded Heze-

kiah, "the captains of the host of the *King of Assyria* took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him *to Babylon*:"* and again, in the book of Judith, we read, that Nabuchodonosor (who was a king of Babylon) "reigned *in Nineve*, the great city, in the days of Arphaxad, which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane." This Nabuchodonosor, we assume, was no other than Nabopalassar, who, we shall find, also reigned at Nineveh, and was called Sardanapalus.

Now, in the eighteenth year of the reign of this king of Babylon and Nineveh, which, with reference to the eclipse in his fifth year, was the year B. C. 608, we read in the book of Judith that Holofernes came up against Judæa with a great army, besieged Bethulia, and was slain by Judith. Let us inquire at what period of the Jewish history this invasion took place. It is remarkable that no mention is made of the king of Judah on the throne at that time; and this omission leads to an answer to our inquiry. We might naturally expect to find the king of Judah exerting himself to oppose the invasion, but we read only of the high priest Joachim, who appears to have had the whole management of the kingdom under his control. Sir Isaac Newton, with his usual acuteness, has observed, that this history best agrees with the beginning of the reign of Josiah †, who, we know, was a child of eight years old when he came to the throne, and who, therefore, was unable to take part in the government. Accordingly, we find in our table that the

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. † Sir I. Newton's Chron., p. 288.

year B. C. 608, or eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, is the first year of the reign of Josiah. Here is no straining or difficulty in our arrangement, but the event falls precisely in the place pointed out for it. On the other hand, we find Prideaux remarking, "It is certain that the books of Tobit and Judith can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or profane, which relate to those times, unless we allow Nebuchodonosor to have been a name common to the kings of Babylon;"* and, accordingly, Prideaux supposes Kiniladinus of the Canon to have been called also Nebuchodonosor. Sir Isaac Newton, also, is compelled to the same conclusion. "I take," he says, "Chyniladon to be that Nabuchodonosor who is mentioned in the book of Judith, for the history of that king suits best with these times."† There is no authority, however, for this conclusion, which is unsatisfactory, as making three kings to have borne the title Nebuchodonosor: whereas we can only collect that there were two from Scripture. There were *two* called Labynetus by Herodotus, who represent the same two kings; *two* called Nabopalassar in the Canon; and *two* called Sardanapalus‡ by other historians; all of whom, no doubt, represent Nebuchodonosor the father, and Nebuchadnezzar the son, of Scripture.

We have observed above, that Nabopalassar of the Canon is the Sardanapalus of other historians,

* Prid. Conn., vol. i. p. 69.

† Page 286.

‡ Clinton, Fast. Hell., vol. i. p. 275.

which is a most important conclusion if it can be established, because we hereby ascertain the exact year in which Sardanapalus was conquered, and in which Nineveh fell for the first time. Now Sardanapalus appears to be a title composed of the two titles, Asordan, or Esardan, and Nabopalassar, that is to say, Nabopalassar of the dynasty of, or descended from, Esarhaddon, who first united the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. Dropping the first letter of Esardan, and the last syllable of Nabopalassar, which is merely a local addition, we obtain the title Sardan-nabopalas, which, in current conversation, would soon be contracted into Sardanapalas. That Nabopalassar and Sardanapalus were really one and the same king, we learn also from Eusebius, on the authority of Polyhistor. The whole passage is important, and runs thus in the ordinary copies of Eusebius: “Nabopalassar, *whom Alexander Polyhistor calls Sardanapallus*, sent to Astyages the satrap of Media, and demanded his daughter Amuites in marriage for his son Nabuchodonosor. He was the commander of the army of Saracus, king of the Chaldæans; and, having been sent upon some expedition, turned his arms against Saracus, and marched against the city of Ninus (Nineveh). But Saracus, confounded by his advance, set fire to his palace, and burnt himself in it. And Nabopolassar obtained the empire of the Chaldæans: he was the father of Nabuchodonosor.”* Again, we learn from Polyhistor that, “after Samuges (who I take to be the Sargon of Isaiah, ch. xx.), Sardanapallus the Chaldæan reigned

* Euseb. Chron. 46.

twenty-one years." The passage runs thus in the Armenian copy of Eusebius: "Sinecherim reigned eighteen years; and after him his son eight years. Then reigned Samuges twenty-one years, and likewise his brother twenty-one years. Then reigned Nabupalsar twenty years, and after him Nabuchodrossorus forty-three years. . . . After Samuges, Sardanapallus the Chaldæan reigned *twenty-one years*. He sent an army to the assistance of Astyages the Mede, prince and satrap of the family, that he might give Amuhea the daughter of Astyages to his son Nabuchodrossorus. Then reigned Nabuchodrossorus forty-three years, and he came with a mighty army, and led the Jews and Phœnicians and Syrians into captivity." *

From the first passage we learn that Sardana-palus was the same as Nabopalassar; and therefore began to reign in the year B. C. 625; that he was the father of Nebuchadnezzar, *and that he conquered Saracus*, King of Nineveh, when he was not himself on the throne, but merely acting as general of that king, and from thenceforth obtained the empire of the Chaldæans. From the second passage we learn that he began to reign after Samuges. Here, then, is an apparent contradiction between the two passages: on consideration, however, we shall find that they are both correct, and throw much light upon the difficulties of this part of ancient history. Another passage preserved in the Armenian copy of Eusebius, being an extract

* Euseb. Arm. Chron. p. 14.

from the historian Abydenus, clears up the difficulty. Abydenus mentions the name of Sardanapallus as King of Assyria, and then goes on to say, "*After him Saracus ruled over the Assyrians, and when he was informed that a very great multitude of barbarians had come up from the sea to attack him, he sent Busalossorus (the Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus of Polyhistor) as his general in haste to Babylon; but he having, with a treasonable design, obtained Amuhea, the daughter of Astyages, the prince of the Medes, to be affianced to his son Nabuchodrossorus, marched straightway to surprise the city of Ninus, that is Nineveh. But when Saracus, the king, was apprised of all these proceedings, he burnt the royal palace. And Nabuchodrossorus succeeded to the empire, and surrounded Babylon with a strong wall.*"* From Abydenus, then, we learn that Sardanapalus was succeeded by Saracus; and, from Polyhistor, that Saracus was again conquered by his general, Sardanapalus: and, putting the narratives of these two historians together, who clearly were copying from the same original, we must conceive, in order to produce consistency between them, that their original ran thus: after Sammuges reigned Sardanapalus, after Sardanapalus reigned Saracus, who was conquered again by Sardanapalus, whom he had appointed as his general.

Let us now take the history of Herodotus in our hands, and, turning to our table †, observe how consistent that history becomes with the narrative

* Euseb. Arm. Chron., p. 53.

† Page 59.

of Abydenus and Polyhistor, after inserting the reign of Saracus, after the twenty-first year of the reign of Nabopalassar or Sardanapalus. The title Saracus is undoubtedly that of a Scythian monarch. Sarak, סַרַך, in Chaldee signifies prince or ruler, and like Darius, which also has the same signification, and was common to many of the Persian monarchs, or Pharoah with the Egyptians, was probably common to a race of kings. That these kings were Scythian, is proved by an inscription on the rock at Behistun. For under one of the figures sculptured on the rock there is this legend: "Iyam Saruk'ha hya Saka," which is translated "this is Saracus, who was a Scythian." *

Herodotus tells us that Phraortes, in the twenty-second year of his reign (*i.e.* in the year B. C. 609), "in an incursion against the Assyrians, who inhabited Nineveh, perished with the greater part of his army;" and this Phraortes, we have observed, was conquered by Nabopalassar, or Sardanapalus. Herodotus then goes on to relate, that Phraortes was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces; and that he, "having formed an amicable connection with the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, proceeded, with all his forces, to the attack of Nineveh (in other words, to attack Sardanapalus), being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh he

* Journ. of Asiat. Soc., vol. x. part i. p. xxvi.

was surprised *by an army of Scythians*, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.* “The Medes,” he adds, “in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, *but the empire of Asia:*” † and, again,—“After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of *twenty-eight years*, the Scythians lost all they had obtained.” ‡

Thus, then, it appears from a comparison of Herodotus with the Canon, that Sardanapalus was conquered in battle, but not slain, by the Medes, under Cyaxares, and that the Scythians immediately after took possession of Nineveh, and ruled over Asia for twenty-eight years; which accords with the account of Abydenus, that Saracus, whom we have shown to have been a Scythian, ruled over the Assyrians after Sardanapalus. Herodotus says, that the Scythians were commanded by Madyas, not Saracus; but this is no impediment to the belief that Saracus ruled for the following twenty-eight years. Madyas may have been merely the general of Saracus; or, if king of the Scythians, may have reigned for so short a time as not to be taken notice of. Or, again, Madyas may himself have been styled Saracus, or prince.

Herodotus goes on to relate, that, “after possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained

* Herod. lib. i. c. 103.

† Ibid. c. 104.

‡ Ibid. c. 106.

by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance, *after which they took Nineveh*. They, moreover, subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire." * During these twenty-eight years of Scythian domination, we have no distinct account of the state of Babylon, or the position of Sardanapalus, the late king of Babylon and Nineveh. We cannot doubt, however, that Babylon was, during that time, subject to the Scythians, considering that they extended their conquests even as far as Egypt.† It appears, however, that before long Cyaxares, King of Media, and Sardanapalus (called Labynetus by Herodotus) were in league together; probably associated as fellow-sufferers from the Scythian invasion: for we find that, in the course of these twenty-eight years some of the Scythian tribes fled, first to Cyaxares, and then to Alyattes, King of Lydia, for protection; and that a war, which arose in consequence between Cyaxares and Alyattes, was terminated by the famous eclipse in the year B. C.

* Herod. lib. i. c. 106.

† Ibid. 105.

585, and that terms of peace were concluded between the kings by the intervention of "Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon." * It will be observed that Herodotus does not say "King of Babylon," but merely "Labynetus of Babylon," which seems to import that his throne was much in the same condition as that of Cyaxares; that is, he was sovereign, though in subjection to the Scythian king. Cyaxares is still said by Herodotus to have reigned forty years: but Polyhistor gives to Sardanapalus merely the twenty-one years during which he reigned in Nineveh. At the end of the twenty-eight years of Scythian dominion the Medes and Babylonians took Nineveh; and at this point we again pick up the history of Sardanapalus and Cyaxares from the book of Tobit, which informs us, that before the death of Tobias "he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Ahasuerus, and before his death he rejoiced over Nineve." Now, if Cyaxares, King of Media, is the Ahasuerus of Tobit, Labynetus of Babylon must be the Nabuchodonosor of Tobit; and again, Labynetus and Nabuchodonosor are the same as the Nabopalassar or Sardanapalus of Polyhistor, for he informs us that Sardanapalus first formed a connection for his son with the king of the Medes, and then immediately marched against Nineveh.

Thus Scripture, Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Herodotus, are consistent with each other in the substance of their narratives, when interpreted as we

* Herod. lib. i. c. 75.

propose; and from them we are enabled to fix with accuracy the date of the first fall of Nineveh to the last year of Nabopalassar of the Canon, B. C. 605, when under the title Sardanapalus he was dethroned; and the final destruction of that city, to the year B. C. 578, when Saracus burnt himself in his palace, being 112 years after the taking of Samaria, in the year B. C. 690: so that Tobias, who is said to have lived 127 years, but which probably should be written 117 years, and to have rejoiced over Nineveh, would, if we accept this correction, have been carried captive from Samaria by Shalmaneser in his fifth year, which is in exact agreement with the account given in the book of Tobit, which relates that the father of Tobias married shortly before his captivity.*

That Sardanapalus was not the last king of Nineveh is again confirmed by Castor, the Rhodian chronologist; who, in recounting the kings of Nineveh, observes, “our chronological series commences with Ninus, and ends with another Ninus, *who usurped the throne of Sardinapallus* ;” and Eusebius remarks, that “Cyaxares the Mede slew Ninus.” The Ninus of Castor is, therefore, the Saracus of Abydenus; and Castor, in copying the same history from which Abydenus was copying, where it is written, that Busalossorus “marched against the city of Ninus,” has evidently mistaken Ninus for the name of the king, whereas Abydenus adds, “that is Nineveh.” The result of the whole of this examination is, that the Canon of

* Tobit, i. 9, 10.; xiv. 15.

Ptolemy must be corrected, either by the insertion of the reign of Saracus between that of Nabopalassar, who reigned over Nineveh and Babylon, and Nabocolassar, who reigned over Babylon only, or by the addition of twenty-eight years to the reign of Nabopalassar. I prefer the first course, and consider that Nabopalassar reigned first, for twenty-one years in Nineveh, and after an interval of twenty-eight years reigned for eight years more in Babylon, after the final destruction of Nineveh; which, together, make the twenty-nine years of Berossus: and this view is confirmed by the consideration, that Nabopalassar appears to have been old and infirm at the time when Nebuchadnezzar, his son, was sent by him against Jerusalem; for Berossus writes, "since he, Nabopalassar, was not in a state himself to punish an enemy, he collected and delivered a certain part of his army into the hands of his son Nabuchodrossor;" and yet in the seventeenth year of his reign he was vigorous and active, having conquered Arphaxad in that year, and invaded Syria; showing that there was a considerable interval between the two periods.

And now, after these observations, we are in a condition to examine the third portion of the Canon of Ptolemy, viz. from the year B. C. 621, or fifth year of Nabopalassar, to the year B. C. 523, or seventh year of Cambyses, when another eclipse is recorded by Ptolemy.

It is evident that the compiler of the Canon has selected three eclipses occurring at intervals of as nearly as possible 100 years from each other. The

first, in the year B. c. 721, in the first year of Mardocempadus; the second in the year B. c. 621; the third in the year B. c. 523. These are the cardinal points of the Canon, and cannot be interfered with without destroying its authority altogether. The first hundred years we have found correctly filled up in the copy of Theon. With regard to the second hundred years, there appears to have been much difference of opinion as to the proper mode of arranging it. The three copies all differ from each other during this interval. Two of them place the first year of Nabocolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar, in the year B. c. 623, and the other in the year B. c. 604. Two, yet not the same two, place the last year of Nabonadius in the year B. c. 539, the other in B. c. 556. We need feel no compunction, amidst this disagreement of the authorities, in proposing any alteration in the arrangement of the reigns during this hundred years, which may appear more correct, provided we keep the fifth year of Nabopalassar to the year B. c. 621, and the seventh year of Cambyses to the year B. c. 523.

Now, we have already observed that we consider the history of Cyrus by Xenophon to be a true history; and Xenophon tells us that Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was on the throne of Persia at the time of the first capture of Babylon; which capture we have shown took place in the year B. c. 524, when the Laborosoarchod of Berosus was slain. From whence we draw this important inference, viz., that the eclipse observed in the year B. c. 523 occurred in the reign of Cambyses, *father*

of *Cyrus the Great*; not in the reign of Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, if any such person ever existed; and if Laborosoarchod or Belshazzar was slain in the year B.C. 524, the forty-three years of Nebuchadnezzar or Nabopalassar must have commenced in the year B.C. 573, leaving *an interval of thirty-two years* between the last year of Nabopalassar and the first year of Nabokolossar; which we have already shown is required for the insertion of the twenty-eight years of the Scythian dominion over Asia, and the few years which Nabopalassar reigned when he regained the throne in his old age.

Having thus ventured upon so great an alteration in the arrangement of the Canon of Ptolemy, in which I feel satisfied that I am not far from correct, it is incumbent upon me to show that the proposed alteration does not interfere with any of the cardinal points of the Canon, nor with any computations of Ptolemy with reference to the era of Nabonassar. And for this purpose I shall avail myself of Jackson's observations, taken, as he says, out of Ptolemy's great astronomical work, called *Almagest*.*

Jackson writes, "He (Ptolemy) reckons † from the second year of Mardokempad (the fifth Chaldean king) to the nineteenth of Adrian, 854 Egyptian years: and just so many they are by the foregoing Canon. He reckons ‡ from the first of Nabonassar to the thirty-first of Darius, son of Hystaspes, 256 years; and, again, he computes § from

* Jackson's Chronology, vol. i. p. 449.

† Almag. lib. iv. c. 7. ‡ Ibid. lib. iv. c. 9. § Ibid.

the first of Nabonasar to the eighth of Adrian, 871 years: all which entirely agrees to the numbers of the Canon. Again, he computes* 885 Egyptian years from the epoch of Nabonasar to the second year of Antoninus. And he counts† 882 Egyptian years from the first of Nabonasar to the twentieth of Adrian; he also reckons‡ the fifth of Nabopolasar to be the 127th year from Nabonasar, and 126 Egyptian years. Again, he reckons§ the seventh of Cambyses to be the 225th of Nabonasar, and 224 Egyptian years. He reckons|| the seventh year of Philometor to be the 574th of Nabonasar, and 573 Egyptian years. He reckons¶ the twelfth of Domitian to be the 840th year of Nabonasar: he also reckons the first of Trajan to be the 845th of Nabonasar. He also computes** the second of Antoninus to be the 886th year of Nabonasar; and he counts†† the fifty-second year from the death of Alexander to be the 476th year from Nabonasar. All these several computations agree exactly to the numbers of the astronomical Canon above given, and confirm the truth of the copies whence they are taken." All, I add, are equally consistent with the arrangement of the dates here proposed.

* Almag. lib. v. c. 3. p. 111.

† Ibid. c. 13. p. 123.

‡ Ibid. c. 14.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid. lib. vi. c. 5.

¶ Ibid. lib. vii. c. 3.

** Ibid. lib. ix. c. 10. p. 236.

†† Ibid. lib. x. c. 9. See also lib. iii. c. 2. p. 62.

CHAP. X.

It now merely remains for us to make a few observations on the subject of Egyptian Chronology, with the view of showing that it is not inconsistent with our proposed system. It is unnecessary to enter into a lengthened and critical examination of the whole of this difficult branch of heathen chronology, and indeed it would require a deeper acquaintance with the information to be gained from the monuments than the author possesses to do so. It is here merely intended to point out a manifest inconsistency between Scripture and the received system during that period when Egypt was falling under the Persian empire, that is to say, about the time of Cambyses, and to draw attention to some observations of those who have carefully examined the monuments, and are fully qualified to give an opinion, tending to show that the same error, viz. of about thirty years, is involved in the received chronology of Egypt, which we have already pointed out in Scripture, and in the Canon of Ptolemy. We shall leave to those, who have more leisure and opportunity, to pursue this part of the subject, not doubting that further examination will verify the correctness of our suggestion. Certain it is that if the received notion of Egyptian chronology is correct, our proposed system must be untrue. If Cambyses son of

Cyrus in his fifth year, *i. e.* in the year B. c. 525, succeeded Amosis on the throne of Egypt, and Amosis reigned forty-four years, as Herodotus relates, and began, therefore, to reign in Egypt in the year B. c. 569, and Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra his predecessor, ceased to reign about the same year, all which is so arranged in the received chronology of Egypt; then is it impossible that Nebuchadnezzar could have conquered Pharaoh Hophra after he had overthrown Jerusalem, which Scripture informs us was the case, if the *destruction of Jerusalem is placed in the year B. c. 555*, as we propose. For the last year of Pharaoh Hophra would thus have fallen fifteen years earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem. Either our system, or the approved chronology of Egypt at this point, is, therefore, incorrect. The result of our reckoning, we shall find, is to bring the last year of Apries to the year B. c. 537, which is the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar*, about which time we know that he was conquered by that king; eighteen years after the fall of Jerusalem, and not many years before the beginning of the reign of Cambyses: and the last year of Amosis to the year B. c. 493, which year we know was towards the latter part of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, with whom we shall show reason to believe that he was contemporary.

Let us first examine what is recorded in Scripture concerning the state of Egypt immediately

* See p. 61.

after the fall of Pharaoh Hophra; and we shall find that the description is very distinct, and at the same time much at variance with what Herodotus relates of the condition of Egypt under the reign of Amosis, the successor of Apries. We shall infer from thence that Herodotus was either misinformed as to the true state of the country during that reign, or that he has placed the reign of Amosis at a point of Egyptian history to which it does not really belong.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were living at this time, write thus: "The word that came to Jeremiah concerning the Jews which dwell in the land of Egypt, which dwell at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel; Ye have seen all the evil which I have brought on Jerusalem," &c. "Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will give Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life."* Again, in the tenth year of the captivity of Jechoniah, that is, in the year preceding the fall of Jerusalem, the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel the prophet, saying, "Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt." "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will bring a sword upon

* Jeremiah, xliv. 1, 2. 30.

thee, and *cut off man and beast out of thee*. And the land of Egypt shall be *desolate and waste, no foot of man shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years.*" "Yet thus saith the Lord God, At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered: and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitations, and they shall be there a base kingdom."

"And it came to pass in the seven and twentieth year (*i. e.* of the captivity of Jechoniah, which was the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar), in the first month, in the first day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying," &c. "I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be for the wages for his army*: and I will make *the rivers dry*, and sell the land into the hands of the wicked: *and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.*"†

Thus from Scripture we learn that Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, was destined to fall by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, soon after the thirty-fifth year of that king's reign, and that from thenceforth the land of Egypt should remain desolate for forty years, that her rivers should be dry, and that there should be no prince in Egypt during so many years.

* Ezek. xxix. 1. 19.

† Ezek. xxx. 12, 13.

Now the account given by Herodotus of the state of Egypt during the forty-four years' reign of the immediate successor of Apries, is strikingly at variance with what we have thus collected from Scripture. So far from there being no prince in Egypt after Apries, Amosis is described by the Greek historian as a prosperous prince: though it is predicted that the rivers should be dry, one of the greatest calamities which could befall the land of Egypt, Herodotus observes, "With respect to all those advantages which the river confers upon the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amosis was fortunate for the Egyptians;" and in opposition to Ezekiel's prediction, that no foot of man or beast should pass through the country, which should not be inhabited for forty years, we are told that Amosis, who reigned forty-four years, could boast of twenty thousand cities well inhabited.* It is clear, then, that Herodotus had received a false account of the state of Egypt immediately after the reign of Apries, and we can place no dependence, therefore, upon what he relates further concerning the reign of Amosis. Indeed, he both contradicts himself, and is contradicted by another historian at this point of his Egyptian history. Ctesias informs us, from the Persian Annals, that Cambyzes conquered Amyrtæus king of Egypt, and carried him captive, together with six thousand Egyptians, *alive to Susa*. Herodotus relates that Cambyzes led his army into Egypt against

* Herod. ii. 187.

Amosis, who died before his arrival, and that he found Psammenitus on the throne, whom he conquered and afterwards *put to death*. Again, he states that the cause of the anger of Cambyses against Amosis was that, when he had applied to Amosis for his daughter in marriage, that king had deceived him by sending to him the daughter of the deceased king Apries, with whom for a time he would appear to have been pleased. But this is a most improbable story, as has frequently been observed; for how could the daughter of a king who had been dead, according to his reckoning, about forty years, be acceptable to Cambyses in marriage? Assuming that the story of the marriage is correct, it is clear that there must be an error in the reckoning of at least twenty, and more probably thirty years, and that Apries must have ceased to reign not many years previous to the reign of Cambyses. Thus the approved chronology of Egypt, as derived from Herodotus, is not only at variance with Scripture, but also inconsistent with the narrative of Herodotus himself.

If Amosis really ruled in Egypt within forty years after Pharaoh Hophra, it is clear from Scripture that he could not have ruled as king, but merely as governor of the province; and such in fact was the case. For he is styled *Melek*, or tributary prince, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson* asserts, in some of the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his name. If our reckoning also is correct, it is

* Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 179.

clear that Amosis must have been contemporary with Darius Hystaspis. Now we read in Herodotus of a certain Amosis, who lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, whom he describes as a Maraphian, that is, of one of the noble tribes of Persia, and this Amosis appears to have been in command of all the land forces of Egypt, under Aryandes the prefect of the province.* It is surely singular, that an Egyptian of plebeian origin, as Amosis is described to have been, and a Persian born of a noble tribe, should both have been in authority in the same country, nearly about the same time, and both have borne the same name. Is it not much more probable, independent of all reasoning to prove it, that Amosis who reigned in Egypt, and this Amosis the Maraphian, are one and the same?†

Again, Rosellini has pointed out a monument, now in the Vatican, covered with hieroglyphics arranged in columns, in which appear the names of four different Egyptian princes. In the third column the title Rêместо, the prenomen of Apries, is found; in the fifth, Cambyses; in the sixth, an unknown king, whom he supposes to be Psammecherites; in the seventh, the prenomen of Amosis. He goes on to observe, "the first is Rêместо (Apries), and Cambyses comes next in order in the discourse, not to denote his being the immediate successor of Apries, but (as he conceives) to express the other extreme of the life of some individual who lived

* Herod. iv. 167.

† See "Times of Daniel," by the Duke of Manchester, on this point, pp. 188. 228.

from the time of Rêmosto to the time of the Persian conquest." Rosellini may prove right in this conjecture, whenever the inscription shall have been explained; till then, however, the presumption is, from the evidence of this monument, that Cambyzes reigned next to Apries, and that Amosis reigned after Cambyzes on the throne of Egypt, instead of preceding Cambyzes as Herodotus relates.

Confusion and anarchy were predicted to follow upon the death of Apries in the land of Egypt, and it would be consistent with the prediction to suppose that Amyrtæus, after the departure of Nebuchadnezzar, seized the throne, and was soon after conquered by Cambyzes, as Ctesias relates: that Cambyzes tyrannised for three years and set up Aryandes as governor; and that Amosis obtained the governorship of the province on the fall of Aryandes in the reign of Darius Hystaspis. Be this, however, as it may, it is clear that the received chronology is at variance with Scripture and cannot stand: and that the history of Herodotus would be more consistent with probability, were the reign of Apries placed about thirty years later than in the received system.

We now proceed to shew upon what authority we place the reigns of the several Egyptian kings, in our table, more than thirty years lower than they are placed in the received chronology.

Let us first take the list of the kings of Egypt as derived from Manetho and the monuments, setting down the length of each reign from the 25th dynasty to the invasion of the Persians as

they are determined by the Chevalier Bunsen, the most recent authority on the subject :—

Sabaco	-	-	-	8 years.
Sevechus	-	-	-	14
Tarkos	-	-	-	28
Stephinales	-	-	-	7
Nechepsos	-	-	-	6
Necho	-	-	-	8
Psammeticus	-	-	-	54
Necho	-	-	-	16
Psammuthis	-	-	-	6
Apries or Hophra	-	-	-	19
Amosis	-	-	-	44

From this list we select the reign of Psammeticus ; and from a single circumstance connected with his reign we are enabled to fix with accuracy the relation of his reign to that of Nabopalassar, whose years we know are clearly certified in the Canon of Ptolemy by the eclipse in his fifth year. Herodotus writes, “ Psammeticus reigned in Egypt fifty-four years, *twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege of a great city of Syria which he afterwards took. The name of the place was Azotus.* I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.”*

Azotus is the Ashdod of Scripture, and together with Ascalon appears to have been one of the frontier barriers between the two powerful empires of Assyria and Egypt. From the Book

* Herod. ii. 157.

of Judith we learn, that Nabuchodonosor who reigned in Nineveh, the great city in the days of Arphaxad or Phraortes, and who we have shown to be the Nabopalassar of the Canon, about the eighteenth year of his reign, that is, in the year B. C. 608, sent down his army under Holofernes into Syria; and "the fear and dread of him fell upon all the inhabitants of the sea coast which were in Sidon and Tyrus, and them that dwelt in Sur and Ocina, and all that dwelt in Jemnaan; and they that dwelt in *Azotus* and Ascalon feared him greatly."* "Then came he down to the sea coast, both he and his army, *and set garrisons in the high cities.*"† *Azotus*, I assume, was one of the high cities thus garrisoned by Nabopalassar in the year B. C. 608: and if so, was not suffering under siege by Psammeticus in that year. For the Assyrians would not have been allowed to enter the city hostilely, without opposition from the Egyptian army, of which we read nothing; nor would the people of *Azotus* have "feared greatly," if the Assyrians were come up as friendly auxiliaries against the Egyptians. The twenty-nine consecutive years of siege must, therefore, have taken place either before or after the year B. C. 608.

Now the year B. C. 608 is the first year of the reign of Josiah, and this king we know was conquered and slain by Necho, the successor of Psammeticus, in the thirty-first year of his (Josiah's) reign. So that allowing, for the purpose of

* Judith, ii. 28.

† Ch. iii. 1.

argument, that Josiah was slain by Necho in the thirteenth year of Necho's reign, which is the extreme limit we can allow, and giving sixteen years to Necho as the length of his reign, it would appear that Psammeticus must, on this supposition, have reigned not less than eighteen years after the first year of Josiah, or B. C. 608, and could not have reigned more than thirty-six years previous to that date. But Psammeticus during the first part of his reign was associated with eleven other kings in Egypt, and they reigned long enough together to have acquired eminence "for the justice of their administration." He was afterwards driven into exile by the eleven kings, whom he subsequently conquered with the assistance of the Ionians and Carians.* During his first thirty-six years, therefore, there is hardly room for reign, exile, re-establishment of his kingdom, and a siege of twenty-nine consecutive years; and if this is a just inference, it would appear that Psammeticus must have continued to reign twenty-nine years after the year B. C. 608, and that the siege of Azotus was in the latter part of his reign.

Now we have already shewn that, for twenty-eight years, from the year B. C. 605 to 578, the Scythians had dominion over Asia; and Herodotus tells us, that the Scythians came down towards Egypt, marching through Ascalon on their return, and that Psammeticus met them in Palestine. So that the last years of Psammeticus fall in with the

* Herod. ii. 151, 152.

twenty-eight years of the Scythian dominion. What is more probable than that the Scythians at this time garrisoned Azotus? for we know that Scythopolis, a little north of Azotus, was now built by that people: and, if so, we cannot but conclude that the twenty-nine years' siege of that city, and the twenty-eight years' dominion of the Scythians, have reference one to the other. Psammeticus will thus have ceased to reign about the same year as Josiah, and the invasion of Assyria by Necho will have followed immediately upon the surrender of the fortress of Azotus and the fall of the Scythians in the same year.

Thus the twenty-nine, or rather twenty-eight, last years of Psammeticus follow immediately after the twenty-one years of Nabopalassar, and end in the year B. c. 578: and as a necessary consequence, the last year of Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, falls in the year B. c. 536, which is the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to our reckoning, which perfectly accords with the prediction of the prophet Jeremiah, in the thirty-fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar, that Egypt should fall about that time into his hands. This synchronism therefore confirms the correctness of our adjustment of the reign of Psammeticus. Again, if Psammeticus ceased to reign in the year B. c. 578, Sethos, or So, must have ceased to reign in the year B. c. 681, and Tarkos, or Tirhakah, must have begun to reign in the year B. c. 680. But the year B. c. 680 is the fifteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, as we have already proved by the astronomical Canon of

Ptolemy; and in that year we read of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia coming out with an army against Sennacherib: this again more strongly confirms our arrangement.

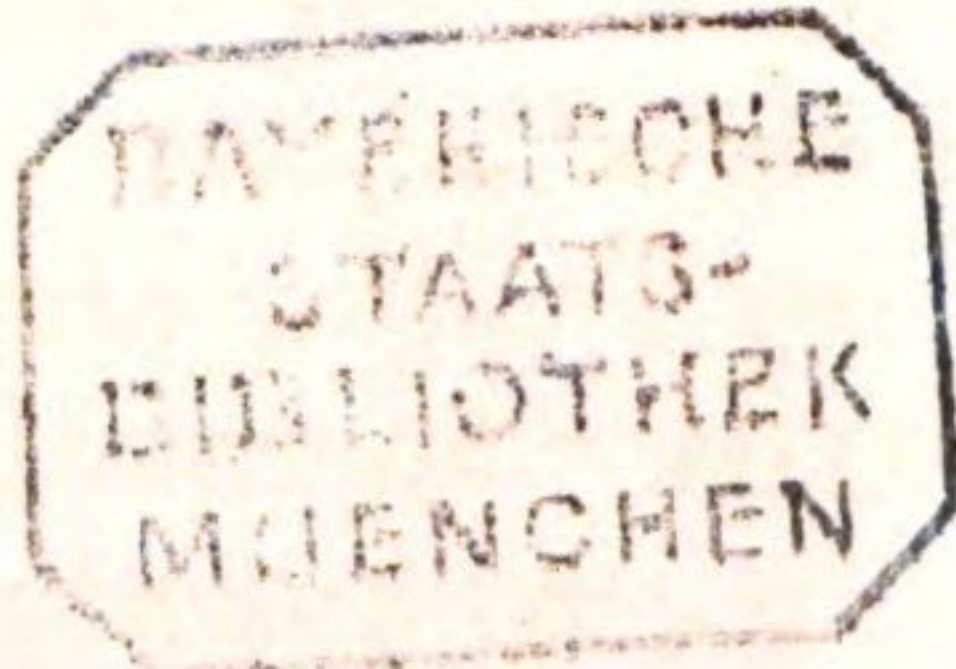
Lastly, our chronology agrees with the tradition concerning the commencement of the Sothic cycle or Egyptian era of the Dog-star. This cycle consists of 1461 Egyptian years of 360 days each, and by the consent of all modern chronologists the first cycle began in the year B. C. 1322, and ended in the year A. D. 139. According to the chronology of the Chevalier Bunsen, confirmed by an unpublished manuscript of the learned astronomer Theon, the year B. C. 1322 was the first year of the reign of Menophres, or Menophthah, in Egypt. According to our reckoning, by which we place the date of each king's reign more than thirty years lower down, the year B. C. 1322 falls in the reign of Rameses the great, who is also called Sethos, *Sothis*, Sesoosis, and Sesostris.

We have already seen that Theon is incorrect in his arrangement of the Canon of Ptolemy, to the extent of about thirty years in excess, in some of the reigns; and the same error must have been carried into his reckoning of Egyptian chronology to make it consistent with the Canon. The Sothic cycle might be expected to commence in the reign of Sothis: and such in fact is the tradition as delivered to us by Tacitus, who, speaking of the Phoenix, writes thus. "Sacrum soli id animal," &c.
 "de numero annorum varia traduntur:
 maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt,

qui adseverent, *mille quadringentos sexaginta unum* interjici; prioresque alites *Sesostride primum*, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemæo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit."* In this confused and contradictory tradition concerning the Phœnix we clearly recognise the Sothic cycle of 1461 years, beginning in the reign of Sesostris, or Sothis; and thus we obtain a third confirmation of the correctness of our reckoning of the reign of Psammeticus, founded upon an independent astronomical calculation, and also indirectly a confirmation of our whole system.

* Tacitus, Ann. vi. 28.

END OF PART I.



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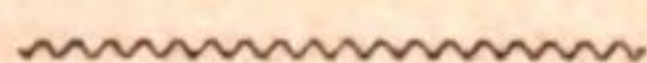
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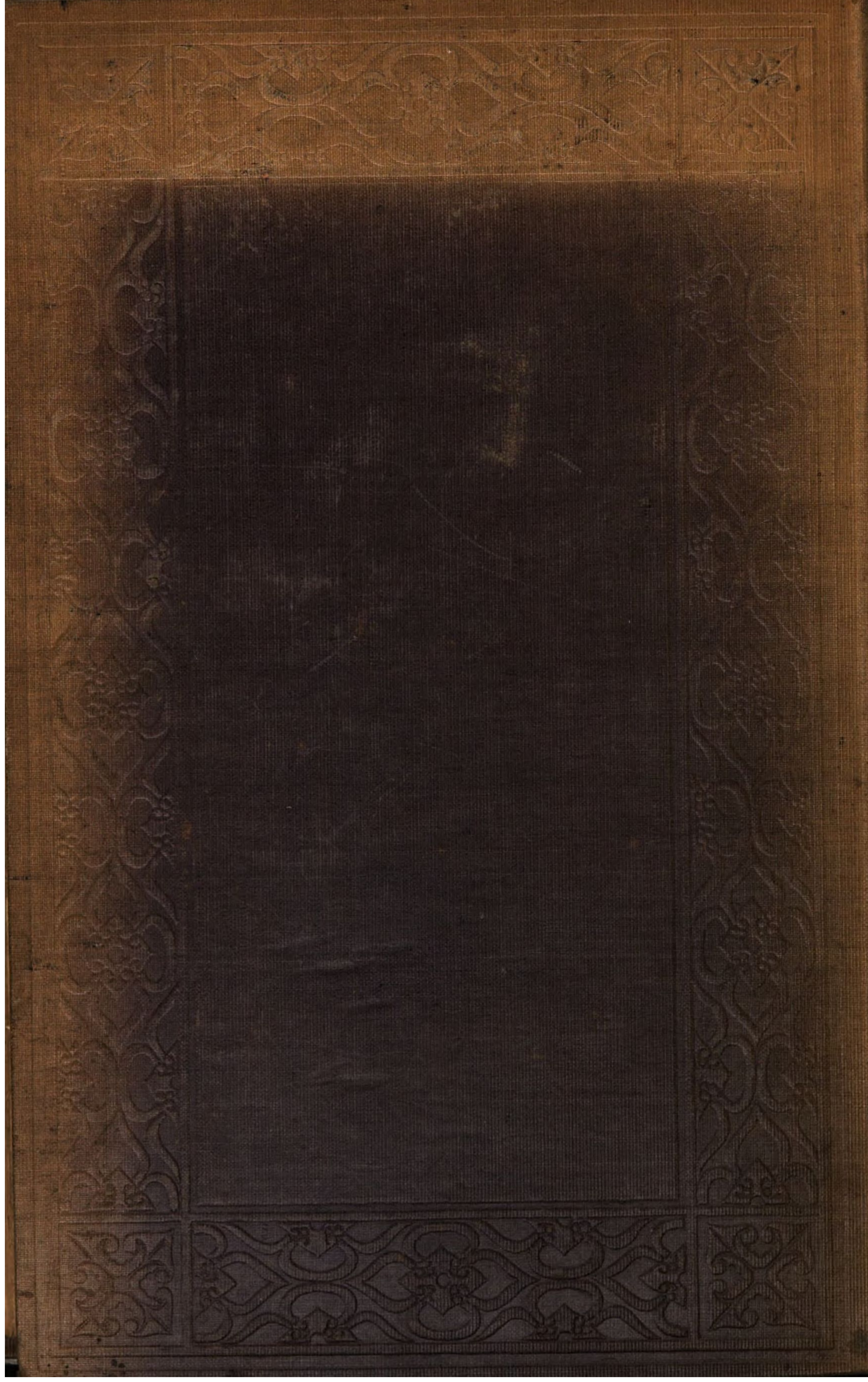
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